

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"Independent of the territories of the French, the map of Europe is but small, and only two great powers are now left standing. Russia is powerful, but, at a great distance from them. Austria remains strong, and, perhaps, not impaired in territories; but, so bereft of all external aid, so stripped of support, that, in any new storm, the first heave of the sea will be very likely to bring her by the board."—Ma. WINDHAM'S SPEECH, May 13th, 1802.

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## PUBLIC-PAPERS.

AUSTRIA AND BAVARIA.—*Copies of the Documents referred to in the "True Statement of the Conduct of the Serene Elector Palatine of Bavaria."* (See p. 755.) From the Vienna Court Gazette of the 16th Oct. 1805.

No. I.—*Letter from his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria to his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine; dated Vienna, Sept. 3, 1805.*

The communications which I transmit to your Serene Electoral Highness, by Lieutenant-General the Prince of Schwarzenburgh, Vice-President of my Council of War, will inform you, in detail, of the motives which induce the Emperor of Russia and myself to support the pacific negotiation which we wish to open with the Court of France, by eventual armaments.—I have every reason to apprehend, that notwithstanding the purity and moderation of our sentiments, the Emperor of the French may determine upon an immediate attack on my states; and I am further informed, that this prince has conceived the design of securing to himself, before-hand, the assistance of the troops of those states that are situated between his frontier and mine, either immediately, or by granting to them at first a neutrality, which will not be allowed to continue longer than he will find it advantageous to him.—Your Serene Electoral Highness, besides, is too enlightened not to feel how much the execution of such a design, if extended also to your troops, would be prejudicial to the Emperor of Russia and myself; and of how much importance it is to us that your Serene Highness should unite them with mine.—It is of such consequence to oppose some bar to the measures which the French government will probably resort to without delay, in order to oblige your Serene Highness to consent to the meditated project, or to carry it into execution against your will, if that should be necessary, that I cannot allow myself to lose a moment in my endeavours to prevent them. I am perfectly sensible of the delicacy of your situation, Sir,

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my brother, as well as of the motives which may incline you to wish to be dispensed from the determination which I require of you Serene Electoral Highness. But I am pressed by motives still more imperious; and seeing the total impossibility which results from the situation of Bavaria, of maintaining the neutrality of a country into which the armies of both the belligerent powers could not avoid penetrating in case of a war, your Serene Electoral Highness will also be convinced, that I cannot recede from my demand, and that I find myself compelled, against my will, to employ all the means in my power to carry it into effect, if I were not willing to expose myself to the most disagreeable consequences, without even obtaining thereby for your Serene Electoral Highness the object of a real neutrality.—In referring to the overtures of the Prince of Schwarzenburgh, respecting the determinations which this state of things obliges me involuntarily to adopt, I hasten to remove every doubt with regard to the sincerity and perfect friendship of my intentions, by protesting here, in the most solemn manner, that at your Serene Electoral Highness shall accede to the proposition which I have made known to you, I shall be ready to defend and to guarantee the security and integrity of your states from any attempt whatsoever; and whatever may be the issue of the war, if it should take place, that I shall never extend my views of indemnity to the acquisition or dismemberment of the smallest portion of your Highness's territory; proposing to myself, on the contrary, to embrace all opportunities that shall offer of proving to you the perfect esteem, and the sentiments as sincere as they are unalterable, with which I am, &c.

No. II.—*Note addressed by his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine to the Lieutenant-General the Prince of Schwarzenburgh, Vice-President of the Council of War of his Majesty the Emperor and King; dated Sept. 7, 1805.*

I have made my determination, Sir

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dear Prince. Attend a conference to-morrow morning with the minister, Baron Montgelas; he will inform you of my demands. Oppose them not. I reckon upon your former friendship.

No. III.—*Letter from his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine to his Majesty the Emperor and King; dated Nymphenburg, Sept. 8, 1805.*

I have directed my minister to sign, this morning, a treaty with the Prince of Schwarzenburgh; pursuant to which I shall join my troops to those of your Imperial and Royal Majesty. In doing this, Sire, I have been desirous of giving you a proof of my inviolable attachment.—Allow me now to appeal from it to your paternal heart. The Electoral Prince, my son, is at present in France. Relying constantly on the peace, I sent him to travel in Italy, and then in the southern provinces of France, where he is actually at this moment. If I should be obliged to march my troops against the French, my son is lost; should I, on the contrary, remain quiet in my states, I shall have time to procure his return. On my knees I supplicate your Imperial and Royal Majesty to grant me neutrality. I dare pledge my most sacred word to your Majesty, that my troops shall not, in the smallest degree, interfere with the operations of your army; and should it be obliged to retreat, an event which is by no means probable, I promise and swear to remain quiet without striking a blow. It is a father, a prey to the most frightful despair, that applies for mercy in favour of his son; may your Imperial and Royal Majesty not withhold it, and I dare flatter myself there will be no obstacle on the part of the Emperor of Russia.

No. IV.—*Letter from his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria to his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine; dated Hetzendorf, Sept. 14, 1805.*

I cannot conceal from your Serene Highness my surprise at so sudden an alteration in your determinations. Without advertent to the assurances given by my lieutenant, the Prince of Schwarzenburgh, both by yourself, Sir, my brother and cousin, and by your minister, or to the note which your Highness thought proper to address to him, the letter delivered to me by Gen. Nogarolla contained the most formal engagement to join your troops to mine; you positively declare in this letter to me, 'I have directed my minister to sign this morning a treaty with the Prince of Schwarzenburgh, pursuant to which I shall join my troops to

those of your Imperial and Royal Majesty. In doing this, Sire, I have been desirous of giving you a proof of my inviolable attachment.'—And yet, at the moment this letter has been delivered to me, I have to announce to the bearer of it, that your Highness had changed your mind, quitted your capital, and drawn off the whole of your troops.—I should have consented without difficulty, and am still ready to consent, to the demands of your Serene Electoral Highness, respecting the city of Munich, and the circuit, including, amongst other places, your castle of Nymphenbourg, which territory should be shut against my troops, and conigned solely to the protection of those which your Highness signified a desire to maintain there, though, in my opinion, it would have been more advantageous for your troops to be incorporated with mine, in order to avoid any possible complaint of their being more exposed than mine to the enemy, or of their being treated worse with respect to their supplies of provisions: it would rest nevertheless with your Serene Electoral Highness to let them serve in a body, provided they should be under the command of the General of the Army; but to suspend their march, when the French have already announced their approaching irruption into Germany, and are assembling on the Rhine, would be too prejudicial to the common cause for me to lend a hand to it, at the same time that the recent conduct of Napoleon towards the courts of Carlsruhe, Cassel, and Stutgard, will enable your Serene Highness to judge whether the neutrality of Bavaria be possible, and whether you would yourself, Sir, my brother and cousin, have it in your power to fulfil your promise not to employ your troops against me.—I would have been deeply afflicted to endanger the Electoral Prince, to whom I feel a personal attachment; but a courier, if one had been dispatched to him directly, even at the time when the Prince of Schwarzenburgh received the assurances from your Serene Electoral Highness, would have placed him in a condition to effect his departure from France before any fatal measure could have been taken with respect to him.—Faithful to the fulfilment of what I have once promised, I am authorised to insist on the same fidelity being observed towards me. I claim then, formally, from your Serene Electoral Highness, the promise you gave me to unite your troops with mine, at the same time that I declare to you, that I am ready to consent to the conditions above stated. I have directed the Count Buol to wait on your Highness, and to deliver you this letter, and have given him authority to

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accede to such arrangements as may be called for on this head; it would be painful to myself, and to my close and intimate ally, the Emperor of Russia, to experience on your part, Sir, my brother and cousin, any disposition which might prevent us from retaining those sentiments of which we have it greatly at heart to give you effectual proofs. Accept the assurances of my perfect esteem, &c. &c.

No. V.—*Letter from his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine to his Majesty the Emperor of the Romans and of Austria; dated Wurtzburgh, Sept. 21, 1805.*

The Count of Buol Schaunstein has acquitted himself of the commission with which your Imperial Majesty has deigned to honour him on his mission to me. I have experienced, on this occasion, a very lively sense of consolation from the assurances, in every instance so highly to be prized, of your Imperial and Royal Majesty's friendship, which he has repeated to me in express terms. It is to this sentiment, Sire, and to that of your magnanimity, that I can appeal with full confidence. I retain the hope that your Imperial and Royal Majesty will spare unfortunate provinces the horrors of a war, from which they have already too severely suffered, at a moment when the wounds of former hostilities are still bleeding. I owe it to my unfortunate subjects, I owe it to myself, not to lavish their blood for discussions that are foreign to them, and against a government that has done them no injury. This was the primary motive of that absolute and complete neutrality which I claimed of your Imperial Majesty by the letter which I took the liberty of addressing to your Majesty on the 8th instant. Every thing persuades me to adhere to this system. I beseech you, Sire, to believe that I shall never depart from it, and that the menaces of France will also be wholly ineffectual to make me abandon this invariable resolution. —I shall not fatigue your Majesty with a detail of the conferences that have taken place during the residence of the Prince of Schwartzburgh at my court. Your Majesty will condescend to call to mind, that at that period he had no power to accede to the demands which I had preferred, and that the retreat of my troops had been constrained by the necessity of saving them from the disgrace of being disarmed, with which they were openly menaced. I say nothing of what has since passed. The melancholy picture of these events has pierced my heart; it would be no less afflicting to that of your Imperial Majesty if you were acquainted

with them to the full extent.—And now your Imperial and Royal Majesty will do me that justice to which I am well entitled, if you will but persuade yourself that, whatever may be the course of events, nothing shall ever alter the respectful devotion with which I am, &c. &c.

ENGLISH MINISTER AT HESSE CASSEL.—*Abstract of the Diplomatic Correspondence which took place last Summer, relative to the English Minister at the Court of Hesse Cassel.*

I.—*Substance of a Verbal Representation of this Date by the French Charge d'Affaires to the Electoral Ministry, July 27, 1805.*

The French minister is charged to represent to his Serene Highness the Elector, that his Majesty the Emperor of France has learned, with great displeasure, the re-admission of Mr. Taylor, the English minister, after the said minister had been accused, in all the public journals in France and Germany, of being an accomplice to conspiracies against his Majesty; and that, on the other hand, nothing appeared in any paper in his defence, on the part of the English ministry. His Majesty cannot, therefore, regard the further recognition of the said envoy in any other light than that of an insult, which must dissolve the friendly relations that have hitherto subsisted between the two courts; since his Majesty cannot permit his envoys to reside at this Court with a diplomatic character, who are subject to such an accusation. The French minister has, in consequence, received orders to demand, that in eight or ten days at the farthest, Mr. Taylor shall be ordered to withdraw from the Hessian territory; and to represent, that his court must regard the refusal of this demand as a proof of the sound existence of an understanding with the enemies of France, and, of course, as a declaration of war, which would justify him in attaining the object of this application by force of arms. He has, at the same time, received instructions, in the event of a refusal, to quit the Hessian territory.

II.—*Verbal reply of the Electoral Minister of State.*—His Serene Highness the Elector, now absent at Nuendorf, did not expect, after the steps taken by him to satisfy the French government, that he should be again applied to in so urgent a manner upon this subject; on the contrary, he conceived himself entitled to hope from its candour, that it would, at least, have waited for the result of the representation recently made by him to the King of England himself. For the rest, the Elector will return



in a few days to Cassel, when he will in person do every thing in his power to accommodate the present misunderstanding with the French court, with which his Highness wishes to remain on a footing of a constant and sincere friendship.

III.—*Instruction from his Prussian Majesty to his Ambassador at Paris, relative to the above subject.*—His Majesty can scarcely credit that Mr. Bignon should have been authorised by his government to adopt a measure so imperious, and accompanied by such threats, with respect to his Electoral Highness; and still less, that the Emperor of the French can have any intention of attaching consequences so serious to the present discussion, as those which Mr. Bignon has taken upon himself to announce. His Majesty is the less disposed to give credit to those menaces, as Mr. Bignon has refused to give any explanation in writing upon this subject. His Majesty, therefore, gives it in charge to his minister at the court of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, to represent, in the most energetic and urgent terms, that no Sovereign court can permit itself, at the pleasure of another, to send away a minister accredited to it from a third court, unless satisfactory proofs are submitted to it of the latter having actually violated the law of nations. Such proofs have not yet been produced in the case of Mr. Taylor; and this is the more deserving observation, as the French government has itself, on this occasion, omitted those proceedings which it adopted in regard to the Courts of Munich and Stutgard, to which it hastened to communicate those documents that were to furnish grounds for the removal of Mr. Drake and Mr. Spencer Smith. Let it only be considered what would become of the diplomatic character, and the relations between states, if forms so antient, customary, and consecrated by the observance of centuries, were to be laid aside. His Majesty empowers his ambassador to demand, that Mr. Bignon shall forthwith retract his demand with regard to Mr. Taylor; to acquaint the French ministry, that his Majesty cannot calmly look on and see the slightest measure of hostility exercised with respect to his relative and friend the Elector; and to represent, that such a proceeding would violate all the relations which subsist between Prussia and France, with which his Majesty wishes to maintain a good understanding; a wish which he has anxiously embraced every opportunity of expressing. He will further represent, that the French government would be acting in opposition to its own interests, and wholly in favour of those of its enemy,

should it, by such a line of conduct, provoke new hostilities on the Continent.

IV.—*Note from the French Envoy, dated the 29th of July.*—This document repeats the demand, that Mr. Taylor should be no longer recognized at the Electoral Court; and that he should be sent out of the Hessian territory within eight or ten days; adding, that in case of non compliance, Mr. Bignon would immediately quit Cassel.

V.—*Reply of the Electoral Minister, dated the 4th of August.*—His Serene Highness the Elector, on the subject of the demand of the French Emperor, has to reply, that he has renewed his representations to the British ministry, and further, that he has written a letter to the King of England in his own hand. As his Prussian Majesty, however, has now engaged to mediate with the French Court in this affair, the result of his proceedings may be expected in the course of a short time. Besides, Mr. Taylor is now absent from Cassel, and his place of residence is not known.

VI.—*Note from the French Envoy, dated the 6th of August.*—In this note the envoy observes, that Mr. Taylor's petty tour to Geisnar cannot be regarded as a removal from the Electoral Court; and that he, consequently feels himself under the necessity of repeating his former sentiments and menaces; so much the more so; as the Elector had given him a verbal assurance, that the English minister should be no longer recognised.

VII.—*A third Note from the French Envoy, dated the 13th of August.*—Stating, that in consequence of Mr. Taylor's return to Cassel, he was making preparations to quit the Hessian territory.

WIRTEMBURGH AND FRANCE.—*Note from Count Wintzingerode, Minister of State and Conferences to his Serene Highness the Elector of Wurtemberg, to his Excellency M. Didelot, the French Minister, dated 30th Sept. 1805.*

The undersigned is under the necessity of giving to M. Didelot official communication of an event the most unexpected, and of an outrage the most unheard of, against the Capital of his Highness the Elector, by Marshal Ney.—Having appeared before the gates of Stutgard, not only with the intention of passing through it, but of taking up his quarters there, Gen. Hirzel, the Commandant, went himself to the gates, and endeavoured, by the strongest representations shewing at the same time the positive orders to that effect of his Highness the Elector, to prevail on him to follow the conducting off-

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cers, posted on all the roads, made to preserve the communications round the town, and to facilitate the march of the French troops to all quarters, to which they were destined.—But Marshal Ney, rejecting all proposals of the kind, and refusing to accept of any compromise, ordered his guns to be pointed against the gate leading to Louisburgh, compelled it to be opened by those means, entered the capital of his Highness the Elector in an hostile manner, with a force so considerable that the town was not capable of containing it. He ordered the magistracy to assemble for the purpose of communicating to them that two regiments of hussars and five battalions of infantry would arrive there the same night, for which he made an immediate and peremptory demand of 100,000 rations of bread.—The undersigned is at a loss for expressions to convey the deep regret of his Highness the Elector, as well as the just indignation which he must necessarily feel, at the grievous and unheard of insult which has been offered to him in his capital, at the moment that the Emperor Napoleon makes professions of friendship to him, and flatters him with the prospect that he shall soon see him at his palace.—The Elector places too much reliance on the justice and candour of the Emperor of the French, to entertain, for a moment, the least doubt that he will not give to his Highness the Elector satisfaction complete and adequate to the enormity of the insult which has been offered to him.—His Highness the Elector has ordered the undersigned to require of his Excellency M. Didelot by this official note, to make a direct report of these transactions.—At the moment that his Highness the Elector sees his capital in the possession of a foreign army, his chief and greatest anxiety is for the persons of the envoys of the different powers of Europe accredited to his court, and who have only consented to remain there, under the assurance that his Highness would cause them to be respected equally with himself.—His Highness the Elector firmly expects that his Excellency will prevail on the Commandant of Stuttgard, to cause the sacred character of public ministers, in which the envoys accredited to his court are clothed, to be secured against all insult, and that they may continue to enjoy all the rights assured to them by the laws of nations. The undersigned seizes, &c. (Signed) WINTZINGERODE. P. S. At this instant, the undersigned has received official information from Baron De Taubenheim, First Equerry to his Highness the Elector, that some hussars, acting as body guards to General Dupont, have forced

open the doors of the principal stables of the Elector, and wounded, with a sabre, one of the servants, who endeavoured to prevent this violence. One of the Elector's coachmen, dressed in his livery, and driving M. Didelot, attached to the French embassy, received also some blows with the flat of a sword. Upon complaint being made, of the breaking of the stable doors, by Baron De Taubenheim, to the aide-de-camp of General Dupont, the only answer he received was —‘It is all the same to me.’—It is sufficient, without doubt, that these facts be communicated to his Excellency, to excite in him all the indignation that they are calculated to produce.

*Copy of a Circular Note addressed to M. De Schraut, Minister of Austria; M. De Maltiz, Minister of Russia; M. De Madowuf, Minister of Prussia; M. De Hertling, Minister of Bavaria; M. De Ernsifdel, Minister of Saxony; M. De Spaen, Minister of Holland. Dated Louisburgh, Oct. 1, 1805.*

The undersigned minister of state, &c. &c. of his Highness the Elector, feels it to be his duty to communicate to his Excellency M. —, the note, of which the annexed is a copy, transmitted by order of his Highness the Elector, to his Excellency M. Didelot, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, respecting an unexpected event, the details of which are fully mentioned in the said note.—The undersigned seizes this opportunity, &c.

*RUSSIA AND FRANCE, —Circular Letter from Prince Czartorisky, Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Governors General of all the Provinces of the Empire of Russia, dated September, 1805.*

It is now notorious that the pretensions of the French government, are incompatible with either the repose or security of the major part of Europe. The grasping and eternally increasing ambition of the ruler of France, threatens not only near but distant states; for, unbridled, it would overturn the laws, the usages of society.—It were needless to repeat the manifold and grievous causes of offence given to Russia by the French government; but it is necessary to say, it has violated the treaty of commerce subsisting between Russia and France, not alone by refusing explanations which his Majesty was entitled to demand, but by maliciously endeavouring to wound in the tenderest point the honour of Russia. At Constantinople did it not try by all its intrigues, to rouse suspicion against the Imperial Court, and to break the alliance which binds the two em-



pires, and urging his Sultanic Majesty even to an open rupture with Russia. Into Persia it sent its emissaries, and they succeeded in exciting Baba Khan to fall upon the skirts of the empire, and a war arose which still rages in those countries.—Disregarding all these attempts, sufficiently demonstrating the hatred and envy of the ruler of France, his Imperial Majesty always desirous of peace, took every step consistent with his dignity, to induce Buonaparté to consent to establish a fair political balance of power in Europe, to which end and with the concurrence of his Britannic Majesty, the Emperor sent M. Novosiltzoff, Chamberlain and Assistant Minister of Justice, to Paris, to propose a general pacification.—This new unequivocal proof of moderation and love of peace in his Imperial Majesty, had no effect on the French government, which still persisted in pursuing the same measures which already had roused universal apprehension.—Clearly perceiving that it would be as fruitless, as unbecoming the dignity of an Emperor of Russia, to prolong a negotiation with a power ignorant of the first principles of justice, or of the smallest idea of the respect due to other states, his Imperial Majesty recalled M. Novosiltzoff.—This result, however, in all its circumstances to the universe, must have extinguished the last spark of hope for the preservation of peace in Europe.—Austria, a power from its situation most exposed to the attacks of France, dreading the consequences of the fruitless negotiation for peace, proposed to the Imperial Court its renewal, and the same proposal from the Cabinet of Vienna was made at Berlin, London, and Paris.—His Majesty willing to shew all respect to his faithful ally the Roman Emperor, promised his consent, if the ruler of France would on his side be equally acquiescent; but knowing from experience, that all friendly demonstrations towards France would be fruitless, unless supported by strong power, the Emperor thought proper to march part of his army into Germany, to give effect to the negotiation which might be renewed with France. His Majesty felt himself bound to support his allies against the arrogance of the French government, and at the same time to prevent France from threatening the states of that empire adjoining to it, being convinced that this measure of precaution, could alone promote the desired end.—Although adopting this measure under the present circumstances, is no more than a system of security, yet it is of itself to be understood, that if Buonaparté rejects every proposal for a just arrangement, and for securing that indepen-

dence and repose so absolutely necessary, then the armies of his Imperial Majesty will be under the necessity of uniting with the forces of his faithful allies, and by assisting them to save Europe from impending destruction. In that case his Majesty the Emperor, relying on the justice of his cause, the bravery of his armies, and the aid of the allied powers, hopes with the blessing of the Most High, to oppose the general enemy, and for the safety and independence of all, force him to respect the laws acknowledged by all enlightened nations.—From this short exposition, it is evident that his Imperial Majesty's endeavours tend solely to the establishment of general peace in Europe, upon such a foundation as may secure in future, the existence of the powers in alliance with Russia; and, consequently, insure the Russian empire itself from all danger which ultimately might ensue from the insatiable domineering ambition of the present ruler of France.—Sending this to your Excellency by the immediate command of the Emperor, I have the honour to add, that it will be agreeable to his Majesty, if the present unusual motion of the troops, and marching so many over the frontiers, should give cause to observations or inquiries concerning the reasons, that you will in your province, from the contents of this letter, give the proper explanations and directions to the public opinion.

*Letter of the Imperial Marshal Massena, General in Chief of the Army of Italy, to the Imperial Marshal Berthier, Minister at War. Dated Head Quarters at Alpo, Oct. 18, 1805, at Midnight.*

I have the honour to inform you, Marshal, that the moment the period agreed on with Prince Charles was elapsed, I commenced my operations with vigour. At 4 o'clock this morning I attacked the bridge of the Old Castle of Verona, and passed the Adige. I hasten to give you an account of the result of the day's transactions.—I had assembled the army at Zavis, and its environs, so as to be able to repair to any quarter where the enemy might attempt a passage. This assemblage of force gave rise to serious apprehensions respecting my real designs. I ordered a false attack to be made on my right, and at the same time gave orders that an appearance of hostile movement should be made on my left: my intention was to distract the enemy by those various movements, and the event has amply justified my expectation. The first object to be accomplished was to throw down the walls that

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barricaded the middle of the bridge, which was effected by a device of a very daring nature. The two cuts that the Austrians had made were rendered passable by means of planks, and immediately 24 companies of light troops, selected from the divisions of Gardanne and Duhesme, precipitated themselves from the other side of the river, and on the cover of the guns of the old castle, and were soon followed by the whole of the first division, commanded by General Gardanne. The enemy defended the passage in great numbers, and made a very vigorous resistance. They were driven back, however, and pursued to the heights. The reinforcements sent by Prince Charles arrived in all directions, and continued the action with great obstinacy from four in the morning till six in the evening. The Austrians did not leave the field till they found the most vigorous exertions unavailing. We at last succeeded in driving them from all their positions and destroying their entrenchments. 7 pieces of cannon and 18 waggons are the fruit of this day's action; we have made from 14 to 1500 prisoners: they have left 1200 men on the field, and have a great number of wounded. On our side we have lost very few soldiers; we have 300 wounded, but their wounds for the most part are but trifling.—Please present to his Majesty the Emperor and King this first pledge of the valour of his army of Italy; and have the goodness to remind him at the same time, of our respectful devotion and zeal in the execution of his designs. I have the honour to salute you. MASSENA.

*Proclamation issued by General Menou before setting out for the Camp of Alexandria. Dated Turin, Oct. 23, 1805.*

After a bloody war, which had tired the universe, the peace of Amiens restored tranquillity and hope to nations. France, scarcely recovered from convulsions which had threatened her existence, sought to repair her losses, by making her industry revive, by re-creating her marine, and re-animating her commerce; but England, that indefatigable enemy of the French name, only wished for peace, in order to renew, in silence, her connections with the Continent, and to raise new enemies against a power whom she tires with her perfidies, but who will punish her by its triumphs.—The war recommenced by sea. Napoleon assembled his invincible legions; he formed at Boulogne, by immense labours, a flotilla, on which 150,000 brave fellows were already embarked: the day of vengeance was approaching, when the gold of the East Indies,

which, for several years, England has employed only to form conspiracies against the hero of France, or to corrupt the ministers of some powers; when, I say, this gold put arms in the hands of Austria and Russia; and in what circumstances? At the instant in which the cabinets of these two powers believed the French troops already on the coast of England, and that they made themselves sure of easy success.—Is this loyalty? Is this Honourable? Is this the example of Napoleon? Our illustrious Emperor would think himself dishonoured if he acted thus, and all Frenchmen would think the same. Generosity and magnanimity always go hand in hand with true courage.—Powers who have conducted yourselves so disloyally, what will you gain by recommencing the loss of your armies, and of your importance? England has opened for you her treasures, or rather she has paid you for the shame with which you are going to cover yourselves, for the disasters which you are going to experience; she alone will find in it her momentary advantage. Already, perhaps, does she insult your credulity. She will cover the sea with her ships, but she will forget her allies; she knows no other calculation; gold is her only thought.—People, and inhabitants of the departments beyond the Alps, his Majesty the Emperor and King has confided to me the command of a flying camp below Alexandria: I am going to put myself at its head: with it I shall be every where, I shall see every thing. I shall travel over the departments; I hope to find faithful subjects, and submissive to his Majesty. But if, contrary to my expectation, I should meet with any restless and turbulent men, seeking disorder, leading the people from their duty, wishing or endeavouring to renew hopes founded on folly and ignorance, I shall then be inexorable; I shall punish with the greatest severity. But I shall likewise make known to the Emperor and King those who, guided by the honour and fidelity which they owe to their Sovereign, merit his good will and that of his country. I am convinced, before hand, that they will be a great majority.—People, remember constantly that the contributions should be paid with the greatest exactness, that the conscripts ought to march with rapidity to join the corps for which they are destined. Let them follow the example of the brave 26th regiment of chasseurs, which, almost wholly composed of Piedmontese, have acquired immortal glory, by beating and putting to flight the regiment and cuirassiers of the Archduke Ferdinand.—People, second my efforts also against robbers and thieves: your interest recommends it.—I shall watch,



in the rapid courses which I am going to make with the flying camp, that no depredation shall be committed. You know French soldiers: they are as well disciplined as they are courageous. Reckon upon their gentleness, when you conduct yourselves well: but also let the evil disposed count on their exactness in executing my orders, when they are to act against perturbators and the ill-intentioned.—You ought to know me, people of the departments beyond the Alps. You know whether I do not work constantly at every thing which can contribute to your welfare: but also know, that when, to fulfil my duties, and to cause our magnanimous Emperor to be respected, is in question, no consideration can stop me.—Ministers of worship, it belongs to you to second powerfully my labours. You are the interpreters of the Living God. It is himself who has said, ‘Give unto Caesar that which is Caesar’s.’ Preach continually then that maxim to the people; they will believe you, and you will have fulfilled one of the most sacred of your duties.

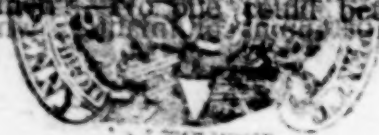
*Proclamation of the Marshal of the Empire to the Inhabitants of the Bank of the Rhine, dated Mentz, Oct. 26, 1805.*

The union of your provinces with France marks two celebrated epochs in the history of nations. A great King made of them but one family, which subsequent revolutions tore asunder: a greater hero, after several ages, has re-constituted the same society, and it is thus that certain events are reproduced in the stages of life by the same genius of men, and the convenience of people.—If victory has formed these new ties, they have been also consecrated by a sage policy. The certainty of French commerce was wanting to your industry, and the fertility of your soil. Nature had uselessly placed your territory under the protection of a grand river; it was, from the disorder of natural limits, but the theatre of the wars of all Europe, and constantly abandoned to devastation: your warlike virtues were hampered by the isolated state of your small principalities, and a too feeble union of your means; you wished to conquer, and you could not! France herself was jealous of appropriating your sentiments of honour, and your courage, to her military: this grand agreement was pronounced by the treaty of Luneville; and, since the princes who governed you, now make their interests depend upon the success of your arms, who could believe that you—pressed by more powerful interests—should cease to be Frenchmen.—No, you must better make

that eulogy on you than the general who commands you. I am not a stranger to your manners, to your language, nor to your character; and I judge of your zeal in seconding my operations, by that which I experience in defending your homes. The Emperor was the first to render justice to the sentiments of the inhabitants of the Banks of the Rhine; he has considered them as an invincible rampart on the borders of France; and he has assimilated their national guards to the bravest French troops, whom he does not cease to conduct to victory.—You will justify this flattering opinion, inhabitants of the Banks of the Rhine, if circumstances, which the most brilliant successes do not permit us to fear, should require it. I shall then be among you; I shall guide your courage; but till then you shall not be taken away from your domestic interests; you shall not be taken away from your families until it becomes necessary to defend them; and reckon that the civil and military authorities always placed at your head, will not direct your zeal but towards what may be useful to your safety, establish your reputation, and prove your devotion to the Emperor.

*AUSTRIA AND FRANCE.—Proclamation of the Emperor of Austria, Francis II. Elective Emperor of the Romans, Hereditary Emperor of Austria, &c. Dated Vienna, Oct. 28, 1805.*

The Emperor of France has compelled me to take up arms. To his ardent desire of military achievements, his passion to be recorded in history under the title of a Conqueror, the limits of France, already so much enlarged, and defined by sacred treaties, still appear too narrow. He wishes to unite in his own hands all the ties upon which depends the balance of Europe. The fairest fruits of exalted civilization, every species of happiness which a nation can enjoy, and which results from peace and concord; every thing which, even by himself, as the Sovereign of a great civilized people, must be held dear and estimable, is to be destroyed by a war of conquests: and thus the greater part of Europe is to be compelled to submit to the laws and mandates of France.—This project announces all that the Emperor of France has performed, threatened, or promised. He respects no proposition which reminds him of the regard prescribed by the law of nations to the sacredness of treaties, and of the first obligations which are due towards foreign independent states. At the very time that he knew of the mediation of Russia, and of every step which, directed





equally by a regard to my own dignity, and to the feelings of my heart, I adopted, for the re-establishment of tranquillity, the security of my states, and the promotion of a general peace, his views were fully disclosed, and no choice was left between war, and unarmed, abject submission!—Under these circumstances, I took hold of that hand which the Emperor of Russia, animated by the noblest feelings in behalf of the cause of justice and independence, stretched forth to support me. Far from attacking the throne of the Emperor of France, and keeping steadily in view the preservation of peace, which we so publicly and sincerely stated to be our only wish, we declared in the presence of all Europe, 'that we would, in no event, interfere in the internal concerns of France, nor make any alteration in the new constitution which Germany received after the peace of Luneville.' Peace and independence were the only objects which we wished to attain; no ambitious views, no intention, such as that since ascribed to me, of subjugating Bavaria, had any share in our councils.—But the Sovereign of France, totally regardless of the general tranquillity, listened not to these overtures. Wholly absorbed in himself, and occupied only with the display of his own greatness and omnipotence, he collected all his force, compelled Holland and the Elector of Baden to join him; whilst his secret ally, the Elector Palatine, false to his sacred promise, voluntarily delivered himself up to him; violated, in the most insulting manner, the neutrality of the King of Prussia, at the very moment that he had given the most solemn promises to respect it; and by these violent proceedings he succeeded in surrounding and cutting off a part of the troops which I had ordered to take a position on the Danube and the Iller, and finally, in compelling them to surrender, after a brave resistance.—A proclamation no less furious than any to which the dreadful period of the French revolution gave birth, was issued, in order to animate the French army to the highest pitch of courage.—Let the intoxication of success, or the unhal- lowed and iniquitous spirit of revenge, actuate the foe: calm and firm I stand in the midst of 25 millions of people, who are dear to my heart, and to my family. I have a claim upon their love, for I desire their happiness. I have a claim upon their assistance; for whatever they venture for the throne, they venture for themselves, their own families, their posterity, their own happiness and tranquillity, and for the preservation of all that is sacred and dear to them.—With fortitude the Austrian monarchy arose from

every storm which menaced it during the preceding centuries. Its intrinsic vigour is still undecayed. There still exists in the breast of those good and loyal men, for whose prosperity and tranquillity I combat, that ancient patriotic spirit, which is ready to make every sacrifice, and to dare every thing, to save what must be saved; their throne and their independence, the national honour and the national prosperity.—From this spirit of patriotism on the part of my subjects, I expect, with a proud and tranquil confidence, every thing that is great and good; but above all things, unanimity, and a quick, firm, and courageous co-operation in every measure, that shall be ordered, to keep the rapid strides of the enemy off from our frontier, until those numerous and powerful auxiliaries can act, which my exalted ally, the Emperor of Russia, and other powers, have destined to combat for the liberties of Europe, and the security of thrones and of nations. Success will not forsake a just cause for ever; and the unanimity of the Sovereigns, the proud manly courage, and the conscious strength of their people, will soon obliterate the first disasters. Peace will flourish again; and in my love, my gratitude, and their own prosperity, my faithful subjects will find a full compensation for every sacrifice which I am obliged to require for their own preservation.—In the name, and at the express command of the Emperor and King, FRANCIS COUNT SAURAU.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Austrian Official Accounts relative to the Operations of the War. From the Vienna Court Gazette, Oct. 20, 1805.*

1, *Action at Wertingen, the 8th October, under the Command of the Field-Marshal Baron AUFFENBERG.*—On the evening of the 7th Oct. Field-Marshal Lieut. Baron Auffenberg was detached from Guntzburgh to Wertingen, with six battalions of grenadiers, three battalions of fusileers, two squadrons of cuirassiers, of the Duke Albert's regiment, and two squadrons of light-horse of Latour, to frustrate the enemy's intentions, who had passed the Danube near Donauwerb. On the following day, in the forenoon, the enemy made several motions, which seemed to threaten our division at Wertingen, and made us suspect that they were advancing to attack the same with a considerable force. As they developed themselves more and more, and especially by the march of some strong columns towards Zimmernhausen, and to the road of Guntzburgh, their intentions became more and more evident: at last the battalions of infantry, which stood



at Wertingen, at a great distance from the army, were attacked with the greatest impetuosity, by a more numerous cavalry of the enemy; and, notwithstanding the gallantry shewn by the repeated exertions of our two divisions of cavalry, to support the infantry, they were too weak to withstand such a force. The loss on our side was one officer and 100 men killed, 12 officers and 220 men wounded, and 52 officers and 1469 men taken prisoners. The battalions of Spork and Archduke Lewis grenadiers have suffered the most; three stand of colours, six pieces of cannon, and several caissons, have also fallen into the hands of the enemy. The Field Marshal Lieut. Aufsenberg was missed the next day, and supposed to be taken prisoner.

2. *Action of Guntzburgh, the 9th of Oct. between the Imperial and Royal Army, and the 6th Division of the French Army, under the Command of Marshal Ney.*

On the 8th of Oct. a division of the Imperial and Royal Army advanced from Ulm to Guntzburgh, to assemble in that quarter the regiments which were still absent, and arriving from their cantonments; and afterwards, if circumstances should be favourable, to proceed again to the right bank of the Danube, and march against the enemy, if they should attempt to pass that river. On the 9th the army encamped near Guntzburgh, leaning its right upon the village of Simlach, and the left upon Reisersburgh. The bridges on the Danube were occupied as far as Leipheim; the Austrian General D'Aspres was posted also on the left bank of the Danube, with a corps of light troops, to send out some picquets, and to get intelligence relative to the enemy. No sooner was the camp of Guntzburgh formed, but the corps under General D'Aspres was compelled to retreat to the other side of the Danube, with some loss, and the said General himself became missing on the occasion.—Thereupon the enemy, under the command of Marshal Ney, advanced with a considerable force to the bridges of the Danube, attempted to pass over them, and to drive our troops from the bank. During the whole afternoon their exertions were fruitless; but, towards the evening, a strong column of the enemy succeeded in overpowering the bridge of the highway near Guntzburgh, and entered that town. The division of Blankenstein hussars charged this close column with much bravery, but as the latter had already reached in part the adjoining wood, the division was obliged to retreat. Thus, when night came on, the enemy remained master of the right bank, near

Guntzburgh. All further attacks, and the passage of the river, were given up, and our troops retreated to Ulm, during the night from the 9th to the 10th. Our loss in killed cannot yet be stated, as the regiments have not yet had time to send in their lists.—About 500 wounded have remained behind in the hospitals at Guntzburgh, and near 600 men have been taken prisoners by the enemy. They have also taken one piece of cannon of the regiment of Spork infantry.

3. *Action near Ulm, the 11th October, between the Imperial and Royal Army, and the 6th Division of the French Army under the Command of Marshal Ney.*

On the 11th of October, at noon, the right wing of the Imperial and Royal Army, before Ulm, was attacked with great impetuosity by the French Army of Observation under Marshal Ney. The French intended to take Ulm by a *coup de main*, under cover of that attack. Our right wing repelled all the attacks of the enemy with the greatest perseverance and courage. At the same time the Field-Marshal Lieutenant Mack caused a considerable part of our left wing to advance, and succeeded in turning the right wing of the enemy, of which two regiments of cavalry, and two regiments of infantry, were almost entirely cut to pieces. The enemy retreated in the greatest disorder, and dropt down the Danube, leaving about 1500 killed behind them on the field of battle. We have taken from 8 to 900 prisoners, 11 pieces of cannon, and twenty caissons, with a number of other waggons, and a deal of baggage; amongst the latter was that of General Dupont. The Field-Marshal Lieutenants Prince Schwartzberg, Count Klenau, and Count Giulay, the cuirassier regiments of the Archduke Albert, and of Mack, and the regiment of light horse of Latour, have particularly distinguished themselves; all the other Generals and officers, as well as all the other troops, have shewn the utmost perseverance and steadiness, with the greatest activity and courage. Our loss hardly amounts to a few hundred. The action, and the pursuit of the enemy, lasted till a late hour in the night.

VIENNA, Oct. 26.—In the evening of the 14th Oct., H. R. H. the Archduke Ferdinand, with a division of the Grand Army, consisting chiefly of cavalry, broke up from the vicinity of Ulm, and accompanied by Field-Marshal Prince Schwartzburg, directed his march through Franconia.—On the 19th Oct. his head-quarters were at

Guntzburgh. All further attacks, and the passage of the river, were given up, and our troops retreated to Ulm, during the night from the 9th to the 10th. Our loss in killed cannot yet be stated, as the regiments have not yet had time to send in their lists.—About 500 wounded have remained behind in the hospitals at Guntzburgh, and near 600 men have been taken prisoners by the enemy. They have also taken one piece of cannon of the regiment of Spork infantry.



Guntzenhausen, a little town in the Principality of Anspach, where H. R. H., with the whole of his troops, met with that reception which was to be expected from our very friendly relations with the court of Prussia. A number of the enemy were made prisoners, and many pieces of artillery fell into his hands, during this retreat into the Upper Palatinate. Besides the division of the Grand Army, which at an earlier period was detached from it under Field-Marshal Kienmayer, and which is at present united with the first Imperial Russian Army on the Inn, another division has likewise effected its retreat in safety to the Tyrolese, under the command of Field-Marshal Jellachich.—In the mean time the division which remained at Ulm had to sustain the most furious attacks. On the 14th of Oct., in particular, a hot and bloody engagement took place. The contest was carried on at all the points round Ulm, and particularly on the mountains of Michel, Galgen, and Kube, with the utmost fury, with great loss on both sides, and with various success. Superiority of numbers, but particularly the position of the French army, which nothing but the previous violation of the Prussian territory could have rendered fortunate, decided the day in favour of the foe. By this circumstance, and by the greatest sacrifices, they purchased, at a very dear rate, what advantages they obtained.—On the 17th of Oct., as we have just learned, the division of the Imperial and Royal army, which still occupied Ulm, being completely surrounded by a concentrated force, and, notwithstanding the most courageous exertions, being incapable of any longer defending themselves in unfinished fortifications, found themselves under the lamentable necessity of assenting to propositions of capitulation. The terms however, of the capitulation are not yet known; and as regular official details could not be forwarded during this unintermitted, and almost unexampled contest, we are as little capable of giving any further information relative to the other proximate and remote circumstances which accompanied this event. The loss is most certainly heavy and afflicting, but it is neither overwhelming nor decisive; for the extensive dominions of the Austrian Monarchy, inhabited by a people so brave and loyal, have still sufficient resources left to retrieve it, and again to conciliate the smiles of fickle fortune.—Tyrol is covered by the troops which formerly occupied it, and which have since been joined by the corps under Field-Marshal Jellachich; by its militia, its levy-in-mass, and the loyalty and courage of its inhabitants, and by

the re-inforcements which have proceeded thither, by forced marches, from the Army in Italy, and which, under Field-Marshal Chasteller and Saint Julien, defend the northern passes.—The united Russian and Austrian army, under the Russian and Imperial Commanders Kutusow and Field-Marshal Meerveld and Kienmayer, covers the Inn. The second very numerous Russian army, under General Buxhoevden, is advancing with rapid strides to form a junction with it. The magnanimous resolutions of the Sovereigns of Russia and Prussia justify the most consoling expectations. All these considerations combined with the powerful assistance of the brave and generous Hungarians, will form a satisfactory whole, and in all other respects nothing will be omitted which can contribute to the common safety.

VIENNA, Oct. 30.—His Royal Highness the Archduke Charles, Minister at War, and Commander in Chief in Italy, has communicated advices from his head-quarters at St. Stephano, of the date Oct. 19th, that the enemy, on the 18th, at five in the morning, commenced hostilities, by a brisk fire of artillery and small arms on several points of the Adige. His object was to engage the attention of the army at several places, and attempt a passage; and he, in fact, succeeded in passing the river near Verona, and likewise at Bonavigo. The passage at the former of these places could not be contested with him, on account of his advantageous situation, protected by Castel Vecchio; and at the latter it was favoured by a strongly fortified island in the Adige, and the assistance of several mills and boats. H. R. H., judging that his right wing, resting against Caldiero, would be strong enough to resist the enemy near Verona, and feeling more inquietude for his left wing, proceeded on the 18th, in the evening, with the centre of his army, towards Caddi-Setto, in order to attack the enemy at day-break, in three columns, at Albaredo, Pitastro, and St. Stephano di Minerva, near Bonavigo; he did not, however, wait this attack, but left the bank of the Adige in the night, and destroyed his bridge.—H. R. H., on his return to St. Stephano, learned that the enemy had in like manner abandoned the heights he had occupied near Verona, and retired under the artillery of Castel Vecchio, and that he had left on this side only one post, under the protection of his batteries, which H. R. H. proposed to attack the next day. The enemy has as yet attempted nothing against the Tyrol, nor against the troops posted on the Inn. The battles he



has been obliged to fight in the environs of Ulm, have greatly weakened his army.—His Majesty the Emperor and King, accompanied by Count Lambartie; has set out for the Austro-Russian wing on the Inn, in order to make in person such dispositions as circumstances may require.—It is said the Archduke Charles will leave Italy, and likewise repair to that army, whence he will return to this city with his august brother, to receive the Emperor of Russia. The headquarters of this army, which has been joined by a strong Russian division, are at Brannnon; the principal corps of the Russian army is more in the rear, and General Kutusow has his head quarters at Ems. General Mack has been sent provisionally as a state prisoner to Brunn, where a council of war will be held upon his conduct.—

**RUSSIA.**—*Letter written by the Austrian Ambassador in London to the Editor of the Morning Post, dated Portland Place, Nov. 1, 1805.*

Sir; I shall be obliged to you to correct a statement in the Morning Post of Friday, November 1, in which, speaking of the causes of the late events on the Continent, is mentioned as a circumstance contributing to them, "*The tardy advance of the Russians, whose arrival is a full month behind the time it was expected.*" Upon this statement I beg to observe, and to request your publicity, that it is completely the reverse of the state of the case, which is, that the Russians were full twelve days earlier at their posts than they had promised, or could have been expected; and that nothing but the most extraordinary and unprecedented exertions could have effected this promptitude.—"You are at liberty to insert this note if you think it the best means of answering the desired object of my request to you. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

LOUIS COUNT STAHRNBERG.

**CONTINENTAL WAR.**—*Eleventh Bulletin of the Grand Army; from the French Official Paper, the Moniteur, of the 1st of Nov. 1805.*

The Emperor arrived at Munich on the 24th of Oct., at 9 in the evening. The town was illuminated with much taste. The Emperor gave an audience on his arrival to the principal Officers of the Elector, the Foreign Ministers, and the Magistrates, with whom he remained long in conversation. Prince Murat, who has exhibited an astonishing activity in all his operations, had arrived at Munich. He bestows the highest praises on the chasseurs and carabineers of

the Imperial Guards. A treasure, amounting to 200,000 guilders, fell into their hands; but they left it untouched, and pushed on in pursuit of the enemy. In the last action Prince Ferdinand escaped on the horse of a Lieutenant of Cavalry. A number of Austrian soldiers which have escaped into Franconia, have occasioned great disorder there. All the enemy's baggage was taken. The army is in full march for the Inn, where Marshal Bernadotte, General Marmont, and Marshal Davoust, were to be on the evening of the 26th. [For the Twelfth Bulletin of the Grand Army, see p. 761.]

*Thirteenth Bulletin of the Grand Army.*

Haag, Oct. 28, 1805.—The army under Marshal Bernadotte advanced from Munich on the 26th, and arrived the next day at Wasserburgh, on the Inn, and proceeded to Altenmarkt, where it halted that night. Six arches of the bridge had been burned down. Count Manucci, Colonel of the Bavarian army, advanced from Roth to Rosenheim. He also found the bridge burned, and the enemy on the other side. After a brisk cannonade, the enemy retired from the right bank; several battalions of French and Bavarians passed the Inn, and, on the 28th, at noon, both the bridges were completely repaired. Colonels Morio and Somis, of the Engineers, were indefatigable in their exertions to re-establish the bridges. The enemy were hotly pursued as soon as the troops could pass over; fifty of their rear-guard were taken prisoners.—Marshal Davoust, with the army under his command, set out from Freysing on the 26th, and reached Muhlthorf on the 27th. The enemy defended the right bank of the river, where they had some batteries advantageously placed. The bridge had been so much destroyed, that it was with difficulty repaired. On the 28th, at noon, a considerable part of Marshal Davoust's division had passed over.—Prince Murat ordered a brigade of cavalry to pass over the bridge of Muhlthorf, caused the bridges of Oeting and Marckhl to be repaired, and crossed them with a part of his reserve. The Emperor himself went to Haag.—The division of Marshal Soult lay on their arms beyond Haag; the corps under the command of General Marmont is to halt this night at Wihsbiburgh; that of Marshal Ney at Landsberg; Marshal Lannes's on the road from Landshut to Braunau. From all the information which has been received, it appears that the Russian army is retreating.—There has been a great deal of rain during the day. All the country between the Isar and the Inn is nothing but a con-



tinued forest of fir trees; the soil is excessively barren. The army has much reason to be satisfied with the zeal and attention of the inhabitants of Manich, in supplying them with such articles of provision as they required.

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*Fourteenth Official Bulletin of the Grand Army.*

Braunau, Oct. 30.—Marshal Bernadotte arrived at 10 this morning at Saltzbourg. The Elector had quitted it several days before. A corps of 6,000 men, which was placed there, had precipitately retired on the preceding evening. The Imperial headquarters were on the 28th ult. at Haag, on the 29th at Muhldorf, and this day at Braunau. Marshal Davoust employed the whole of yesterday in repairing the bridge of Muhldorf. The first regiment of Chasseurs made a fine charge against the enemy, killed 20 men, and took several prisoners, among whom was a Captain of Hussars.—Marshal Lannes arrived yesterday with the cavalry at the bridge of Braunau. He had set out from Landshut. The bridge was cut away. He immediately embarked 60 men in two boats. The enemy, who were pursued by the Reserve under Prince Murat in other directions, abandoned the city. The boldness of the Chasseurs of the 13th contributed to hasten the enemy's retreat.—The misunderstanding between the Russians and Austrians begins to shew itself. The Russians plunder every where. The best informed Officers among them are perfectly aware, that the war which they wage is impolitic, since they have nothing to gain against the French, whom nature has not placed in a situation to be their enemies.—Braunau, as we find may be considered one of the finest and most useful acquisitions of the Army. This place is surrounded with a circumvallation, fortified with bastions, draw-bridges, a half-moon, and ditches full of water. There are numerous magazines of artillery, all in good condition; but what will with difficulty be believed is, that it is completely supplied with provisions. We found there 40,000 rations of bread, ready to be distributed, and more than 1000 sacks of flour. The artillery of the place consists of 45 pieces of cannon, with change of carriages, mortars provided with more than 40,000 cannon shot, and some howitzers. The Russians left behind them about a thousand weight of powder, great quantities of cartridges, lead, a thousand muskets, and all the ammunition necessary to support a long siege. The Emperor has appointed General Lauriston, arrived from Cadix, Governor

of the place, and the head-quarters were established there.

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*Fifteenth Bulletin of the Grand Army.*

Braunau, Oct. 31.—Several Russian deserters are already arrived, among them is a serjeant-major, a native of Moscow, a very intelligent man. It may be easily imagined that he was questioned by every one. He tells us, that the Russian army is quite differently disposed now towards the French, than what it was in the last war; that the prisoners who returned from France, had spoken in high praise of it; that there were six in his company who were removed from it at the time they left Poland; that if all the men who returned from France had been suffered to remain in the regiments, there can be no doubt but they would all have deserted; that the Russians were very sorry to fight for the Germans, whom they detest; and that they had a high opinion of the French valour. He was asked if they loved the Emperor Alexander; he replied, that they were too wretched to have any attachment for him; that the soldiers were fonder of the Emperor Paul, but that the Nobility preferred the Emperor Alexander; that the Russians in general were very happy to quit their own country, because they lived better, and were better paid; that none of them wished to go back to Russia; and that they would rather establish themselves in other climates than return under the authority of so harsh a government; that they were aware that the Austrians had lost every battle, and were in a lamentable situation.—Prince Murat set out in pursuit of the enemy. He overtook the rear guard of the Austrians, about 6000 strong, on the road to Merobach. To get sight of them and charge them was only one exertion for the cavalry. This rear guard was dispersed on the heights of Ried. The enemy's cavalry then rallied, to protect the passage of the infantry through a defile; but the first regiment of Chasseurs, and the division of Dragoons, under General Beaumont, overwhelmed them, and rushed into the defile along with the infantry of the enemy. The action was very sharp: but the darkness of the night saved the enemy's corps. Part of them saved themselves in the woods, and there were only 500 prisoners taken. The advanced guard of the division of Prince Murat took a position at Haag. Col. Montbrun, of the 1st regiment of Chasseurs, covered himself with glory. The 6th regiment of Dragoons maintained its ancient character. A quarter-master of this regiment having had his waist shot off, said, an



the presence of the Prince, as he was passing: "I regret the loss of my hand, because I can no longer serve our brave Emperor." The Emperor, on being made acquainted with this circumstance, said: "There I recognise the spirit of the Eighth. Let a profitable situation, according to his rank, be given to this quarter-master, in the Palace of Versailles."—The inhabitants of Braunau, according to custom, carried to their houses a great part of the magazines. A Proclamation brought all back again. There are at present 1000 sacks of flour, a great quantity of oats, magazines of artillery of every kind, and 60,000 rations of bread, of which we are in great want. A part of it was distributed to the division under Marshal Soult.—Marshal Bernadotte is arrived at Saltzboung. The enemy retreated by the road of Carinthia and Wels. A regiment of infantry wished to keep possession of the village of Hallen. It was obliged to retreat towards the village of Colling, where the Marshal hoped that General Kellerman, would be able to cut off their retreat, and take them prisoners.—We are assured by the inhabitants, that the Emperor of Germany, in his anxiety, came to Wels, where he learnt the disaster of his army. He also became acquainted there with the clamours of his Austrian and Bohemian subjects, against the Russians, who commit such pillage and violence, that they long for the arrival of the French, to deliver them from these extraordinary allies. Marshal Davoust, with his army took a position between Ried and Haag. All the other divisions of the army are advancing, but the weather is horrible. It has snowed six inches deep, and the roads are in consequence detestable. The Secretary of State Maret has joined the Emperor at Braunau. The Elector of Bavaria has returned to Munich. He was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the inhabitants of his capital. Several mails from Vienna had been intercepted. The last letters were dated on the 18th of October. Some intelligence of the action at Wertingen had reached it, and had created the greatest consternation there. Provisions were so dear, that few persons could afford to purchase them. Vienna was threatened with a famine, and yet the harvest had been very productive; but the depreciation of the paper-money, and of the assignments, upon which there was a loss of 40 per cent. had raised every thing to an exorbitant price. Every one was persuaded, that the Austrian paper currency must be completely destroyed.—The husbandman would no longer exchange his produce for a paper currency of no value. There

is not a man in all Germany, who does not consider the English as the authors of the war, and the Emperors Francis and Alexander as the victims of their intrigues. The cry in every mouth is, that there will be no peace as long as England is governed by an Oligarchy, and governed it will be in that way as long as George lives. The accession of the Prince of Wales is therefore generally wished for on this account, that it will put an end to the power of the few, who in all countries are selfish and insensible to the misfortunes of the people.\*\*\*\*\* The Emperor Alexander was expected at Vienna, but he changed his mind. It is reported he is gone to Berlin.

OPERATIONS OF THE FRENCH ARMY OF ITALY.  
*Second Official Bulletin of the Army of Italy, from the Moniteur, dated Oct. 29, 1805.*

The general in chief attacked the enemy this morning at five. Whilst, on their left wing, the division of General Sessa passed the Adige at Polo, that of General Verdier manœuvred from Ronco to Albaro; at the same time the divisions of the Generals Gardanne and Duhesme, extending themselves before the bridge of the Old Castle of Verona, attacked the heights of Val Pantena, and drew round the Castle of St. Felice; when the general in chief, availing himself of their position, obliged the enemy to evacuate Veronette.—The pallsadoes of the new bridge were immediately cut down, and the division of horse chasseurs, under General Espagne; that of grenadiers, under General Partonneaux; the cavalry of reserve, commanded by General Monnet; and the division of General Molitor, marched through Veronette, and proceeded to the great road of St. Michel, where the Austrians opposed us with their infantry and cavalry, protected by several pieces of cannon. The cavalry was ordered to make repeated charges, which were executed with activity, and supported by the grenadiers of the division of Molitor. In one of those charges the squadron of guides forced 500 men, infantry, to lay down their arms. The enemy were routed, driven from the village of St. Michel, and pursued as far as beyond St. Martin, whilst we occupied Vago: 1600 prisoners, and two pieces of cannon, have been the result of this day's engagement. The Austrians have left many killed on the field of battle. Our loss is trifling: we have near 100 wounded. The army is pursuing its success.—The divisions of the different corps manœuvred with precision; the general in chief commends the courage and zeal shewn by the troops during the attack. He can testify to his Majesty the Emperor, that they

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burn with desire to follow the example of the grand army, and to deserve a participation in the noble rewards which his Majesty presents to courage.

*Third Official Bulletin of the Army of Italy.  
dated Head Quarters at Pado, Oct. 30.*

After the action of the 20th, the army took a position two miles on this side of Caldiero. On the 30th it attacked the enemy the whole length of their line. The division of Molitor, forming the left, began the action; that of General Gardanne attacked the centre, and that of General Duhesme the right. These different attacks were well executed and happily conducted. The village of Caldiero was carried amidst cries of 'Long live the Emperor,' and the enemy was pursued to the very heights.—At half-past 4 Prince Charles ordered his reserve, consisting of 24 battalions of grenadiers, and several regiments, to advance. The battle then became more general. The troops of his Majesty displayed their usual bravery. The cavalry made several successful charges; some battalions of grenadiers engaged at the same time, and the bayonet decided the fate of the day. The enemy kept up a fire from 30 pieces of cannon planted in their entrenchments. Notwithstanding the obstinacy of their resistance, they were beaten and pursued to the very redoubts at the other side of Caldiero.—We have taken 3,500 prisoners; the field of battle was strewed with Austrians; their loss in killed and wounded was at least equal to the number that were taken prisoners. Prince Charles requested a truce to bury the dead. Our loss is very insignificant, compared with that of the enemy. The marshal-general in chief speaks in the highest terms of the bravery and attachment of the army. He will make particular mention of the brilliant exploits which have distinguished this day, and will make a special report to the Emperor of the names of the brave men to whom the honour of it is due. The army of General St. Cyr is arrived.

*Fourth Official Bulletin of the Army of Italy.*

Head-quarters at Montebello, Nov. 2.—In consequence of the battle of the 31st, the position of the army before Caldiero, and the orders given on the preceding day to the division of Seras, a column of the enemy, amounting to 5000 men, was separated from the corps of General Rosenberg, and cut off in such a manner that it could neither retreat through the vallies nor rejoin the main army. The Commander in Chief, on being informed that, on the 1st

instant, this column was marching to the heights of St. Leonards, sent one of his aides-de-camp to summon it to surrender. The General Officer, Hillinger, who commanded it, not seeing any troops, declared his intention to defend himself. The 22d regiment of light infantry, under Colonel Goquet, then received orders to advance from Veronetta: the enemy made a movement to approach him, and forced him to take a position under the walls of the Castle of San Felice. The Commander in Chief repaired immediately to the spot, and ordered four battalions of grenadiers to surround the enemy. Gen. Charpentier, the Chief of the Staff, was charged with these dispositions, which he executed with precision in concert with Gen. Solignac. A new summons was then sent to the enemy, who found himself under the necessity of laying down his arms. A capitulation, signed by the Commander of the enemy's columns, and by General Solignac, put into our hands 5000 prisoners, with their arms and baggage, 70 officers, one Brigadier, one Major, one Colonel, 80 horses, &c. &c.—Prince Charles, on his side, finding that a column of his army had been cut off, apprehensive of being turned in his position, proceeded to effect his retreat. We were informed, that he had made some movements in the night. At the break of day, reconnoitering parties were sent out to all parts of his line. The division of chasseurs on horseback, under General Espagne, and the light division of General Gardanne, set forward in pursuit of the Austrians, who were harrassed through the day, and of whom we made 600 prisoners. We this day are at Montebello. To-morrow the army will proceed on its march.

*Capitulation between General SOLIGNAC, commanding a Corps of Grenadiers belonging to the Royal and Imperial Army of his Majesty the EMPEROR of the FRENCH on the one Part, and Brigadier General HILLINGER, commanding a Corps of the Troops of his Royal and Imperial Majesty the EMPEROR of GERMANY.*

ART. I. The Austrian troops, commanded by General Hillinger, are made prisoners of war, under the following conditions:—II. General Hillinger, as well as all the officers under his command, shall retain their swords, horses, and baggage. They shall be permitted to return to Vienna on their parole of honour not to serve against France, or her allies, until exchanged.—III. The soldiers shall lay down their arms before they enter Verona. They shall retain their booty,



(Batin). IV. All the wounded Austrians in the neighbourhood of Payano and Grazzano, shall be immediately removed to the French army, in order that they may be there properly treated. V. The troops of his Majesty the Emperor of Germany, having fought with the greatest intrepidity, and not having capitulated until they were completely surrounded, the French army will do for them every thing that is due to military courage. Done in duplicate at Cara Albartini, Nov. 2, 1805. (Signed) HILLINGER, &c. [Here follow the other signatures].

#### FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

HUNGARY.—*Address of the Archduke Palatine after making the Royal Propositions to the Hungarian Diet. Dated Oct. 30, 1805.*

Every one must perceive in what difficult times the administration of my office, the first in the kingdom, conferred upon me by the free voice of the magnats and the state, and confirmed by his Apostolic Majesty, has fallen.—The execution of the first and greatest duty imposed on me of watching over the preservation of the constitution of the country, could cost me little pains, while the sceptre of Hungary is held by a Prince so generous, so just, and so devoted to the interests of his subjects, that from the tenderness of his conscience, and from love to his people, he never, in circumstances of the greatest pressure, adopts any measure of his own royal authority, which would deviate in the least from the constitution of his empire. He always expects with confidence from the wisdom and generosity of the Hungarian nation, represented by its magnats and deputies, that they never will leave one of his wishes unaccomplished, which has for its object to cover the necessities of the state, and to ward off every danger which would threaten their native country, their old constitution, and the existence of the monarchy.—At the present moment the constitution of Hungary, and the very existence of the state, are exposed to the most imminent dangers by the destructive plans of the enemy.—Hostile plans, in times past, have been counteracted by the wisdom, providence and generosity of the states, and by the valour of the Hungarian nation. Now, however, the enemy having increased his territory and his power, is become much stronger, and wishes haughtily to subject us to his pleasure. He no longer considers the Hungarian nation, which, before, he knew how to respect.—Whence this insolence! Does he believe that we (I have the right to speak, for Hun-

garian blood also flows in my veins.) Does he indeed believe, I say, that we, unnerved or dispirited by fear, have given up all hope of saving our native land; all care for the fate of our posterity? Does he believe that we are become traitors to our dearest interests, to our worthy Monarch, to the crown and the kingdom, to our posterity and to our honour? I would rather die than undergo this national dishonour!—So will every Hungarian think and feel; this I know, not barely from history, but from experience. From my own observation I know the valiant deeds of the Hungarians. I will not here mention them in detail; for it is a trait of our national character, never to boast of our exploits; but when they are in danger of being forgotten, always to renew the recollection of them by something greater than has been before achieved. This too is not the time to relate what we have done, but seriously to reflect on what remains for us to do. As to what concerns myself, I am firmly resolved never to desert my King, my native country, and the honour of Hungary. I will march with those who will follow me; and should it be the termination of my days, it will in my last moments be matter of sweet consolation to me, that I have discharged a sacred duty to the King, the country; and my fellow citizens.—I fear not that the number of those who follow me will be small. I am conscious that the welfare of the Kingdom has ever been my first object. I hope I do not flatter myself in vain that I am not indifferent to the Hungarians. Therefore I hope with confidence that their numbers will be greater than even the situation of the country can require. Those who are absent, and much more those who are present, and who know me better, will be fired by this holy zeal. Let us therefore consider what the circumstances of the times, what our love to our King and country, and what our welfare demand. Let us go to work without loss of time, and complete by our perseverance what we have begun.

VIENNA.—*Notice issued by Count Saur, Court Commissary of the Emperor, dated Vienna, Oct. 30, 1805.*

The voice of his Majesty, our most gracious Emperor and King, has spoken to his people with openness and confidence.—The measures which his Majesty has been pleased to order, for the undisturbed maintenance of the security, order and prosperity of his faithful Austrian subjects, are contained in the public notice of the Chief Chancellor Count Ugarte. Undoubtedly

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his Majesty thereby acquires a fresh claim to the love and the gratitude of every one of his subjects, and he may expect with confidence, fresh proofs of devotion, obedience, and zealous co-operation on the part of a people, who have already given his Majesty so many affecting proofs of their unshaken attachment, and whose prosperity is the sole object of his exertions.—The Commissary of the Court, therefore, calls upon the young men, both Nobility and Citizens, to incorporate themselves with the City Militia, and to do garrison duty during the present circumstances. He likewise calls upon all other classes of the inhabitants to appear at the call of the Magistracy for filling the divisions of reserve of the Austrian regiments, whereby they will claim the gratitude of their country.—Furthermore, all foreigners are hereby charged to quit the city of Vienna in six, and all Lower Austria in ten days, on pain of imprisonment. Only the subjects of the Emperor of Russia, and of the Kings of Prussia, Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark, and of the Electors of Saxony and Hesse, are excluded from this mandate, by the express order of our Sovereign.—All horses and light wagons are also placed in requisition, to be employed for the public service, &c.—  
(Signed) FRANCIS, Count SAURAU, Court-Commissary of the Sovereign.

#### DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

**NAVAL VICTORY.**—*From the London Gazette, Nov. 16, 1805, Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Collingwood, Vice-Admiral of the Red, &c. to W. Marsden, Esq. dated on board the Euryalus, off Cadiz, Oct. 28, 1805.*

Sir, Since my letter to you of the 24th, stating the proceedings of his Majesty's squadron, our situation has been the most critical, and our employment the most arduous that ever a fleet was engaged in. On the 24th and 25th it blew a most violent gale of wind, which completely dispersed the ships, and drove the captured hulls in all directions. I have since been employed in collecting and destroying them, where they are at anchor upon the coast, between Cadiz and six leagues westward of San Lucar, without the prospect of saving one to bring into port. I mentioned in my former letter the joining of the Donegal and Melpomene, after the action; I cannot sufficiently praise the activity of their Commanders, in giving

assistance to the squadron in destroying the enemy's ships. The Defiance, after having stuck to the Aigle, as long as it was possible, in hope of saving her from wreck, which separated her for some time from the squadron, was obliged to abandon her to her fate, and she went on shore. Captain Durham's exertions have been very great. I hope I shall get them all destroyed by tomorrow, if the weather keeps moderate.—In the gale the Royal Sovereign and Mars lost their foremasts, and are now rigging anew, where the body of the squadron is at anchor to the N. W. of San Lucar.—I find that on the return of Gravina to Cadiz he was immediately ordered to sea again, and came out, which made it necessary for me to form a line, to cover the disabled hulls: that night it blew hard, and his ship, the Prince of Asturias, was dismasted, and returned into port; the Rago was also dismasted and fell into our hands; Don Enrique M. Douel had his broad pendant in the Rago, and from him I find the Santa Ana was driven near Cadiz, and towed in by a frigate. I am, Sir, &c. C. COLLINGWOOD.—P. S. I enclose a list of the killed and wounded, as far as I have been able to collect it.

*Abstract of the Names and Qualities of the Officers and Petty-officers killed and wounded on board the British Ships, in the Action with the combined Fleets of France and Spain, Oct. 21, 1805.*

**KILLED.**—Royal Sovereign. B. Gilliland, lieut.; W. Chalmers, master; R. Green, second lieut. of royal marines; J. Ackenhead and T. Braund, midshipmen.—Dreadnought. None.—Mars. G. Duff, captain; A. Duff, master's mate; E. Corbyn and H. Morgan, midshipmen.—Minotaur. None.—Revenge. Mr. Grier and Mr. Brooks, midshipmen.—Leviathan, Ajax and Defence. None.—Defiance. T. Simens, lieut.; W. Forster, boatswain; J. Williamson, midshipman.

**WOUNDED.**—Royal Sovereign. J. Clavel and J. Rashford, lieuts.; J. Levisconte, 2d lieut. of royal marines; W. Watson, master's mate; G. Kennicott, G. Thompson, J. Parrot, and J. Campbell, midshipmen; I. Wilkinson, boatswain.—Dreadnought. J. L. Lloyd, lieut.; A. McCulloch and J. Sabbin, midshipmen.—Mars. E. W. Garrett and J. Black, lieuts.; T. Cook, master; T. Norman, 2d captain of royal marines; J. Yonge, G. Guiren, W. J. Cooke, J. Jenkins and A. Luckcraft, midshipmen.—Minotaur. J.



Robinson, boatswain; J. S. Smith, midshipman. — Revenge. R. Moorsom, captain (slightly); J. Berry, lieut.; L. Brokenshaw, master; P. Lily, captain royal marines. — Leviathan. T. W. Watson, midshipman (slightly). — Ajax and Defence. None. — Defiance. P. C. Durham, captain (slightly); J. Spratt and R. Brown, master's mates; J. Hodge and E. A. Chapman, midshipmen.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

*A Return of the killed and wounded on board the respective Ships composing the British Squadron under the Command of the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Nelson, K. B. Vice-Admiral of the White, &c. &c. in the Action with the combined Fleets of France and Spain, Oct. 21, 1805.*

Victory. Not received. — Royal Sovereign. 3 officers, 2 petty officers, and 42 seamen and marines, killed; 3 officers 5 petty officers, and 56 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 141. — Britannia, Téméraire, Prince, and Neptune. Return not received. — Dreadnought. 7 seamen and marines, killed; 1 officer, 2 petty officers, and 23 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 33. — Mars. 1 officer, 3 petty officers, and 25 seamen and marines, killed; 4 officers, 5 petty officers, and 60 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 98. — Bellerophon. 2 officers, 1 petty officer, and 24 seamen and marines killed; 2 officers 4 petty officers, and 117 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 150. — Minotaur. 3 seamen and marines killed; 1 officer, 1 petty officer, and 20 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 25. — Revenge. 2 petty officers, and 26 seamen and marines, killed; 4 officers and 47 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 79. — Leviathan. 4 seamen and marines, killed; 1 petty officer, and 21 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 26. — Ajax. 2 seamen and marines, killed; 9 seamen and marines wounded. Total 11. — Agamemnon, Spartiate, Africa, Belleisle, Colossus, Achille, Polyphemus, and Swiftsure. Return not received. — Defence. 7 seamen and marines killed; 29 seamen and marines wounded. Total 36. — Defiance. 2 officers, 1 petty officer, and 14 seamen and marines, killed; 1 officer, 4 petty officers, and 48 seamen and marines, wounded. Total 70.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

#### CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

##### LETTER IV.

SIR,—It was never my intention to offer reflections on the proceedings of parliament, concerning the Catholic Question, all the debates on that important subject,

should appear in a regular form before the public. I have too much respect for the constitutional rights of the legislature, to arraign the proceedings of either house, or to concur in any transaction, which may be construed into a breach of privilege. But, Sir, when speeches delivered in parliament, are printed and published, with the approbation, and, even with the immediate concurrence of its members, it becomes the privilege, and, in many instances, the duty of a Briton, to write, print, and publish his comments. Unless this doctrine be admitted to the fullest extent, I must and shall consider the liberty of the press, which is deemed the peculiar glory of Britain, to be but a dangerous snare, and an empty boast. On this incontestable and evident principle, I proceed to give you my thoughts concerning those proceedings, which occupy a distinguished portion of your Fourth Volume of PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.—The promised discussion of the Catholic Claims, unquestionably excited the highest expectations, both in parliament and in the country. It was doubtless supposed, that grand and enlarged views would be taken of the subject; that the best information would be produced, and principles established, worthy of British politicians, and British statesmen.—How these expectations have been realised, a superficial view of your parliamentary report on the subject, will easily demonstrate. Mr. Fox treated the question with his usual ability, candour and liberality; and all who pursued the same train of argument in either house, have acquired much credit, by rising superior to the narrow and illiberal prejudices of the age in which they live. Lord Grenville appeared worthy of himself, and of a family, which, besides the ordinary advantages of rank and opulence, is peculiarly distinguished by dignity of sentiment, extent of information, and versatility of talent. Had the opposers of the Catholic Claims, acted on any enlightened and comprehensive system of legislation; had they even invariably preserved, in the discussion, that temper and decorum, of which some affected an ostentatious display, I should not have withheld the tribute of my applause. Of the reverend and venerable bench of Bishops, I am delighted that I have it in my power to say, that, whatever be the merit of their politics, they delivered their sentiments with the dignity of prelates, and the politeness of gentlemen. But far the greatest part of those, who voted against the motion for a committee, pursued a very different course. Among them, with few exceptions, I look in vain for any traces of political wisdom, or even

of candour, and of respect for the constitutional rights of the legislature, to arraign the proceedings of either house, or to concur in any transaction, which may be construed into a breach of privilege. But, Sir, when speeches delivered in parliament, are printed and published, with the approbation, and, even with the immediate concurrence of its members, it becomes the privilege, and, in many instances, the duty of a Briton, to write, print, and publish his comments. Unless this doctrine be admitted to the fullest extent, I must and shall consider the liberty of the press, which is deemed the peculiar glory of Britain, to be but a dangerous snare, and an empty boast. On this incontestable and evident principle, I proceed to give you my thoughts concerning those proceedings, which occupy a distinguished portion of your Fourth Volume of PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.—The promised discussion of the Catholic Claims, unquestionably excited the highest expectations, both in parliament and in the country. It was doubtless supposed, that grand and enlarged views would be taken of the subject; that the best information would be produced, and principles established, worthy of British politicians, and British statesmen.—How these expectations have been realised, a superficial view of your parliamentary report on the subject, will easily demonstrate. Mr. Fox treated the question with his usual ability, candour and liberality; and all who pursued the same train of argument in either house, have acquired much credit, by rising superior to the narrow and illiberal prejudices of the age in which they live. Lord Grenville appeared worthy of himself, and of a family, which, besides the ordinary advantages of rank and opulence, is peculiarly distinguished by dignity of sentiment, extent of information, and versatility of talent. Had the opposers of the Catholic Claims, acted on any enlightened and comprehensive system of legislation; had they even invariably preserved, in the discussion, that temper and decorum, of which some affected an ostentatious display, I should not have withheld the tribute of my applause. Of the reverend and venerable bench of Bishops, I am delighted that I have it in my power to say, that, whatever be the merit of their politics, they delivered their sentiments with the dignity of prelates, and the politeness of gentlemen. But far the greatest part of those, who voted against the motion for a committee, pursued a very different course. Among them, with few exceptions, I look in vain for any traces of political wisdom, or even



of candid investigation. When I hear it asserted, Sir, that the privileges asked for by the Catholics, are to them, but a trifling consideration, which will extend only to a *small proportion of their body*; and at the same time, that a compliance with this petition, will make them, not a *part of the state, but the state itself*; when I am told, that the King and his official advisers, should be of the same religion, though I find persons, who, by education and habit, are decidedly hostile to the church of England, admitted not only to parliament, but to places of trust; when I am informed that the nobility and gentry of Ireland, have lost all influence over the lower classes of people, and yet, if the petition be granted, that we shall have a catholic legislature, and a protestant King; when I hear the most solemn professions of encouraging toleration to its fullest extent, and yet observe a determination to exclude four millions of my fellow-subjects, not only from places of trust, but from the right of representation, and this not on political, but religious grounds; when I consider these positions, and many others, which your parliamentary report supplies, I am amazed, lost, and confounded, amidst such a series of inconsistencies, absurdities, and contradictions. From this temper of mind, I cannot easily recover, by farther observing, that in your reported speeches of these politicians, facts are often misrepresented and distorted; sophism supplies the place of argument, and declamation that of sound sense. The boldest and most extravagant assertions are there made, apparently with no other view; than to raise a prejudice in the public mind, against the claim of the petitioners; the most animated appeals are addressed to the passions for the same interested view, garbled and mutilated extracts are given, from old councils and musty records; even idle stories, which a man of sense would be ashamed to relate in a polite circle, are told with an air of serious concern. Such, Sir, is the general view, exhibited in your report, of the sentiments and speeches of most of those, who opposed the Catholic Claims. In all this, where are we to find, any vestige of that political wisdom, which we expect in statesmen of eminence? where is to be discovered even that share of moderation, which these distinguished personages affected to display? I must own, that I read your report of these proceedings, with a feeling of shame, for the injured honour of my country; and if the event of the debate, is to be considered as the final decision of this momentous concern; if a question, involving in its conse-

quences the safety and independence of the empire, be ultimately settled on such frivolous grounds, I cannot help exclaiming, farewell to the justice and liberality of Britain!—But, Sir, I do not despair, of seeing the delusion, which clouds the understandings, of many of my countrymen, completely removed: I have too good an opinion of the English character, to imagine, that it will be ever disgraced by gross and obstinate error. To correct mistakes, to check misrepresentation, to tear off the disguise thrown over the plainest facts, and hold up to the inspection of my country, the fair form of truth, are the only objects of my humble endeavours; and as my views are fair and honourable, it may be presumed, that my remarks will be received with the same candour, with which they are written.—It is, Sir, a matter of curious observation to review the leading arguments which were employed by the opposers of the Catholic Claims, to disappoint the hopes of the petitioners. The conduct of those, who bore an active part in the revolution of 1688, the principles on which that event was accomplished, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, the conditions on which the present family holds the throne; all these topics are introduced into the debate in the most solemn and affecting manner; as if a modest and respectful petition to parliament, were directed against its authority, and tended to subvert the constitution of Britain. It is to me, a matter of the greatest astonishment, how men liberal, and, in many respects, well informed, can give such a distorted representation of a plain fact. If the principles of the revolution, and the conduct of its leaders had been hostile to the civil claims of the Catholics, what induced King William, after he had been seated on the throne of England, and taken the present coronation oath, to offer the Irish Catholics before the battle of Aghrim, *the free exercise of their religion; half the churches of the kingdom; half the employments civil and military too if they pleased, and even a moiety of their ancient properties.* (See a letter of Sir Charles Wogan to Dean Swift, quoted in the Hon. H. A. Dillon's excellent *Strictures*, p. 27.) This offer was rejected with scorn; but the Irish were afterwards reduced to sign the capitulation of Limerick; and, by the articles of that memorable treaty, were suffered to enjoy more than they at present demand. (See Smollett Vol. IV. Edit. 4. B. 8. c. 3.) They were placed in the situation, in which they had stood before the enactment of penal laws. The violation of those articles, occasioned by the spirit of the



times, is a foul blot on the honour of England. To the credit however of King William, and his able minister Lord Somers, it should not be forgotten, that they made every effort, which the spirit of the times would admit, to enforce the execution of the articles of Limerick.—As to the Bill of Rights, there is not in that celebrated declaration, a single word, from which the smallest objection can be raised against the prayer of the petition. It is on the contrary incontestably true, that the spirit and even the letter, are friendly to the cause of the Catholics. The object of the bill of rights is, to prevent the encroachments of the prerogative: to secure the power of the legislature, and to protect the liberty of the subject. In the conclusion of this memorable instrument it is said, that all the liberties asserted in this declaration, are the ancient and indubitable rights of the people of this kingdom. If, Sir, these words have any meaning, and I presume that they are intended to convey the ideas which they express, on what principle of justice, honour, or policy, can four millions of our fellow subjects, be debarred from the enjoyment of those advantages, which are declared to be the ancient and indubitable rights of the people of this kingdom. I must therefore be allowed to maintain, that the violators of the bill of rights, are not those, who ask for an equal participation of civil advantages with their fellow subjects; but those, who pertinaciously exclude one fourth of the united kingdom, from even virtual representation in that parliament, of which the rights are secured by the celebrated act under consideration.—But it is asserted, that by the act of settlement the King must necessarily be of the Protestant religion, and that it is a direct consequence of this limitation that his immediate advisers should be of the same persuasion. "What," says a noble lord, "could be more preposterous in a government of law where the law is above the crown, than to compel the King under the pain of forfeiture to be of the established church, and to allow the ministers, the chancellor, the judges of the land to be of any religion the most hostile to the establishment." (Lord Hawkesbury's speech on the Catholic petition Vol 4th Parl. Debates p. 676).—However preposterous such a circumstance may appear to the noble lord, it happens unfortunately for his lordship's argument, that this wonderful phenomenon frequently appears. What, let me ask, Sir, can be more hostile to the episcopalian church of England, than the presbitery of Scotland. The ideas concerning church go-

vernment, the habitual sentiments, the practices, the modes of education, peculiar to the adherents of these two churches, are so different, that light and darkness are scarcely more opposite. Yet amidst this diversity of religious belief, not only is our parliament filled with the Scottish presbyterians, but the first offices of the state are open to that class of men. The noble lord may, without any painful effort of memory, bring to his recollection a very considerable number of this description of persons, who, in the present reign, have been the immediate advisers and official servants of the crown. If his lordship alleges, that these persons qualified themselves for their situations, by complying with the provisions of the test act; my answer is, that he must easily know the contrary to be the fact. For why does he, as a member of the legislature, annually concur to grant a bill of indemnity to all, who have not obeyed the law in this particular, if its provisions were adhered to? Why does he contribute to the annual suspension of this celebrated act, if those in power are willing to conform to its injunctions, and if it be so necessary, as some would imagine, to the existence of the church establishment. The fact is undoubted, that the King and his advisers are frequently *not of the same religion*; and consequently the elaborate reasoning of his lordship falls to the ground.—Still the noble lord asks, if a Protestant King should be surrounded by Catholic counsellors; and what security there would then be, that the church would not be endangered? In real truth, Sir, this question is too trifling to meet with a serious reply. For it presupposes, that the Catholics ask for every official situation under government, to the exclusion of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, in order to introduce every species of innovation in church and state. But let the noble lord reflect, that if the prayer of the petition, should be complied with, his Majesty's choice of his servants would be perfectly unfettered; and whatever number of Catholics might be introduced into the cabinet, they would want both the inclination and the power, to entertain designs hostile to church or state. For under the circumstances of a Protestant King, and a Protestant parliament, an adviser of his Majesty, professing the Catholic religion, must certainly unite in his character, the extreme of folly and insanity, if he were to embark in any plan inimical to the established order of things. He must be sensible that, by such a proceeding, he would not only occasion his own immediate removal and disgrace, but that his conduct

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would lead to the perpetual exclusion, from any share of political power, of all with whom he acted. A Protestant parliament, a Protestant King, and the immediate interest of the Catholics themselves, form the best and most permanent security against the supposed danger.—After what has been said, it becomes almost unnecessary, to notice a singular observation in a speech ascribed to a noble lord. "It is well worthy of remark," says his lordship, "that the *whole* (meaning the petition) bears a strong resemblance to the memorable declaration of James the Second, in 1687 for the liberty of conscience" (Lord Auckland's speech *ibidem* p. 823.) His lordship is ingenious, in finding out an accurate resemblance between the two instruments; but a great and essential point of distinction seems to have escaped his penetration. James published this declaration without the authority of parliament, and admitted his Catholic subjects to the principal offices of the state in defiance of the existing laws. The present modest and respectful petition is made to parliament, for the purpose of obtaining civil advantages. In one instance the authority of the great council of the nation is superceded; in the other it is formally recognised. In common candour, this difference should have been observed; but the manner, in which the comparison is introduced, evidently shews that the remark was made to render the petition unpopular. It is not unworthy of remark, Sir, that those, who talk most of the glorious revolution, understand least of its nature and spirit. Persecution of the Catholics, even in the more gentle form of withholding from them civil rights, was certainly not in the contemplation of King William, and his leading advisers; such a notion may be very innocently entertained by the vulgar and illiterate part of mankind; by an honest alderman, or a talking pastry cook; but I am sorry to see that it ever entered the mind of a distinguished member of the British legislature. The main spring of that great event, was evidently a determination to preserve inviolate the constitution of this country, and particularly to secure the parliament from the invasion of the prerogative. Of this fact, the Bill of Rights is an unexceptionable voucher.—But, Sir, it appears from the speeches of the opposers of the motion for a committee, that the Catholic is not entitled to any farther concession, because he refuses to admit the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical concerns, and obeys a foreign jurisdiction. The manner, in which this objection is stated, clearly demonstrates a want of candour. If the Catholic rejects the King's supremacy, he acts,

in this respect, in common with a large mass of his Majesty's subjects, who enjoy the full benefit of the constitution. Not even the Protestant of the church of England is called upon to qualify himself for places of trust and emolument, by admitting the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, but merely by abjuring all foreign authority. The obligation is of a negative, not of a positive, nature. The only question therefore to be decided is, whether this foreign jurisdiction admitted by the Catholic be of such a description, as to interfere with the rights of the Sovereign in civil concerns; or to affect the liberties and independence of the country. On this important point the most ample satisfaction has been already given by the Catholics of the united kingdom. Previously to former grants, they, by a solemn oath, declared that their obedience to the Pope relates to spiritual concerns only, without any relation to temporal power, right, or jurisdiction, which can, in any manner, interfere with the claims of the Sovereign and the country. This their solemn declaration is perfectly conformable to the sentiments and belief of every Catholic in the universe; it has been confirmed by the unanimous answer of six foreign universities, who condescended to solve difficulties, which were raised by the present Minister. After this what more ample satisfaction can even bigotry demand? Is it not a notorious fact that the Pope's spiritual power is admitted by two-thirds of Europe, by whole Kingdoms and Empires as jealous of their independence as Great Britain can possibly be? has it not been formally recognized, in the face of the whole world, by a man, who not only wishes to unite in his own person the supreme power of his empire, but to subject all Europe to his ambitious sway? Is not this spiritual supremacy acknowledged by Catholics residing in other Protestant states of Europe, without affording the smallest uneasiness to the civil power? But, say these sagacious politicians, the power of the Pope, though professedly spiritual, cannot in many instances be separated from civil concerns. Marriage, they observe, is contracted in different circumstances from those prescribed by the laws of the country. When any doubt exists on the subject, an appeal is made to a foreign power. This mode of reasoning is truly admirable, and deserves to be held up to the wonder of surrounding nations, as a specimen of what may sometimes be expected from a British Senator. After a line of demarcation has been drawn by Government between the spiritual power of



the Pope, and the temporal rights of the Sovereign; after an oath has been proposed to the Catholics of the United Kingdom, in which this distinction is formally recognized; after the sentiments of Catholic Europe have been obtained on the subject; after the Catholic has been permitted to admit the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, as not affecting the independance of the civil power, I did not, I could not, expect British Statesmen to assert, that the spiritual authority of his Holiness, is inseparable from the civil transactions. When once the distinction has been admitted, and acted upon, to revive old difficulties, for the purpose of obstructing civil claims, appears to me to proceed not so much from the want of knowledge, as of good faith. As to the difficulty started concerning marriage, presuming that it arises from profound ignorance, I beg leave to state, well knowing the subject on which I write, that marriage is considered by the Catholics in a two-fold light; either as a *contract raised to the dignity of a sacrament*; or merely as a *civil contract vested with civil effects*. In Catholic countries, where the Pope's power is embodied with the civil polity of the state, few difficulties can arise on the subject. But in Protestant countries, where the supremacy of his Holiness is formally exploded, his power, in this particular, is understood even by Catholics themselves to extend to marriage, considered only in the first point of view; but by no means, as it is a legal and civil contract. Let us suppose, for instance, that the Pope should, for very substantial reasons, dissolve a marriage contracted between two Catholics in this country under the sanction of the laws; what would be the effect of such a sentence? Why it would barely extend to the *spiritual*, and by no means to the *civil effects* of such an union between the parties. It would, in the sentiments of the Catholics, pronounce such a marriage *invalid in the sight of the church*, without introducing any civil consequences, which are directed by the operation of our laws. I trust, Sir, when the leading arguments of the opposers of the Catholic claims, are thus clearly proved to be but empty sounds, that the subject will be coolly reconsidered, and its merits impartially investigated. Even bigotry must soon be observed to relent, when it is discovered, that it has been directed against spectres which dance before the imagination, or phantoms which have no existence. I would give his Majesty's Government an important advice, not to wait for the importunate solicitation of the Catholics; but to anticipate their most ardent wishes; calmly to ex-

amine the state of things, and boldly to face the difficulties which are started; finally to make such an arrangement as will have the effect of preserving the constitution of the country, and of securing the unalterable attachment of a large portion of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom.

THE BRITISH OBSERVER.

#### SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

ANTIGUA FLEET.—Amongst the dangers of a contest, like that in which we are now engaged, the capture and destruction of a fleet of merchantmen naturally attracts but little attention; and, it must be confessed, that, compared to the great objects of the war, such an event is of trifling importance. Nevertheless, it is of quite sufficient importance for the public to be made fully acquainted with the circumstances attending it; and, this will, one would think, not be denied by those, who have now again returned from continental wars to ships, commerce, and colonies.—The reader will have perceived, that, in this work, some attention has, of late, been paid to the subject of *convoy*s. That attention has induced a gentleman connected with the West Indies, to transmit me a copy of a letter from Antigua. Previous to his sending this letter to me, he had, it seems, sent it to a *daily print*, which (for reasons which, if my correspondent knew them, he would, doubtless, regard as *quite sufficient*) did not choose to admit it, though, as will be seen, it accounts for the French burning the Antigua Fleet; though it describes the hardship which the planters sustained, and the loss of property for the want of the packets arriving regularly; and though, in short, it very clearly and fully narrates the circumstances of a part of the warlike operations of the enemy, of which no correct account had before been given, at least in any of the daily prints.—The letter bears date, July 31, 1805, and is as follows: “Since this island has been under the British government, it never has witnessed a scene of greater disaster, confusion, and unpleasant circumstances, than have been exhibited for the last three months. Our fleet with 6000 hogsheads of sugar, besides coffee, indigo, &c. have been taken and burned; to the injury of the planter, the loss of many fine ships, and the revenue the cargoes would have produced to the mother country, and the profits they would have produced to the merchants, and brokers, &c. through whose hands they would have passed. The conveyance between this and the mother country has been interrupted by the non-

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" arrival of the packets; and, of course,  
 " insurances have not been effected, and  
 " business nearly at a stand. The dry sea-  
 " son has set in; and, if it lasts much longer,  
 " there will be little hopes of a crop next  
 " year. What the Lords of the Admiralty  
 " were about in suffering the fleets of  
 " France and Spain to escape, and remain  
 " so long in these seas, is a question of much  
 " conversation here. The Rochefort squa-  
 " dron were seven weeks in these seas be-  
 " fore Admiral Cochrane arrived. Two  
 " days preceding they made their escape  
 " for Europe, but he unfortunately pur-  
 " suing his chase to Jamaica, lost them.  
 " The admiral left the whole of his squa-  
 " dron to protect that island, except the  
 " Northumberland, in which he returned to  
 " this station; but, instead of finding the  
 " islands in a state of security, found the  
 " combined fleets cruising uncontrouled,  
 " and threatening destruction to the whole  
 " colonies. Antigua was their first object,  
 " and the preparations for invading it were  
 " nearly completed, when intelligence  
 " reached Martinico of the arrival of Lord  
 " Nelson at Barbadoes. No sooner was the  
 " Hero of the Nile announced with ten sail  
 " of the line and three frigates, than the  
 " combined powers changed their plan of  
 " invasion for that of flight; but, on their  
 " way to Europe, lay off Antigua, in expect-  
 " ation of cutting out the fleet then lying  
 " at St. John's Roads, but unfortunately  
 " they had sailed the evening before under  
 " convoy of the Netley schooner; if they  
 " had not sailed, they would in all probabi-  
 " lity, have been saved, but they were  
 " overtaken within 48 hours, and captured.  
 " Four days after the enemy left Antigua,  
 " Lord Nelson arrived at St. John's Roads,  
 " he had scarcely come to anchor before  
 " the Netley schooner hove in sight, and  
 " communicated to him by signals the sad  
 " catastrophe which had happened to the  
 " fleet, and that with difficulty he had made  
 " his escape. This news had no sooner reach-  
 " ed the gallant admiral, than up anchors  
 " and full chase after them. The day after  
 " Lord Lavington received dispatches from  
 " the Captain of the King Fisher sloop,  
 " that he and another sloop of war had  
 " fallen in with a fleet of 12 merchantmen  
 " and 4 frigates to the windward of An-  
 " tigua, steering for Guadaloupe. The  
 " French observing the sloops coming up  
 " close and repeating their signals, con-  
 " jectured they were the forerunners of a larger  
 " force, and set fire to all the merchantmen  
 " and made their escape. Thus ended the  
 " fate of the fleet." — Now, surely, this

letter, authentic and circumstantial as it is,  
 was of importance enough to merit an in-  
 sertion in a London newspaper! It might  
 surely, have took its turn in those edifying  
 columns, through which the public are duly  
 and daily informed of the airings of General  
 Fitzroy and Colonel Taylor. But, little do  
 the West-India planters imagine what are  
 the springs, which, generally speaking, set a  
 newspaper editor in motion; or what are  
 the powers by which he is stopped.—That  
 Lord Melville, during whose administration  
 of the navy the combined fleet sailed out,  
 was busily engaged *at home*, must be al-  
 lowed; but, it will hardly be pretended, that  
 the Antigua planters will be likely to derive  
 much consolation from reflecting on the  
*cause* of this diversion of his lordship's at-  
 tention: they will not, I am persuaded, de-  
 rive much comfort from reflecting that this  
 calamity, the destruction of their fleet, arose,  
 possibly, from the discoveries relative to the  
 manner in which had been expended, in part  
 at least, the money before raised upon their  
 heavily-burdened produce: yes, I think, it  
 cannot be very reasonably supposed, that  
 their complaints would be entirely hushed  
 by the "SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN," who  
 told them, that, *in consequence* of the parlia-  
 mentary inquiries into the expenditure of  
 the public money, "the French fleets might  
 "go out and in as they pleased!" — There  
 is always one remark to make upon the sub-  
 ject of the French fleets being at sea; and  
 that is, that they never got to sea, while  
 Lord St. Vincent was at the head of the  
 Admiralty; and, that they got to sea, in se-  
 veral directions, almost immediately after  
 Lord Melville came into Lord St. Vincent's  
 place. It was once before said, that the  
 ministers might or might not be blameable  
 for this escape of the enemy's fleets; but,  
 as far as the fact does speak for or against  
 ministers, it certainly speaks in behalf of the  
 ministry, whom Mr. Pitt described as a mass  
 of "incapacity and imbecillity." — Then,  
 again, had it not been for the *war with*  
*Spain*, there would not have been a com-  
 bined fleet; and, it behoves the lovers of  
 dollars to reflect, that the injury done to  
 England, by the enemy's fleets, in the West  
 Indies, very far surpassed in magnitude any  
 good to be derived from the seizure of the  
 plate ships of Spain. The dollars, we were,  
 about a month ago, told by the ministerial  
 paper, the *COURIER*, had set the Austrian  
 armies in motion; and, it added, in a tone  
 of exultation, that the people would now  
 perceive the use of those treasures for the  
 seizure of which Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville  
 had been so reproached by the Opposition.



It is, indeed, very likely that the people of England as well as the court of Vienna may now begin even to *feel* the use of those treasures, if it be true that the subsidies are coming, and to come, out of them; but whether the planters of Antigua, whose produce has been destroyed in consequence of the war with Spain, will feel much consolation upon being informed of that war's having contributed towards the causing of the Austrians to march into Suabia, I must leave the reader to determine.

LORD MAYOR AND MR. PITT.—Any thing that could take place at a city-feast would, if calculated to have no effect beyond the scene itself, be unworthy of the attention of my readers; but, when a contrivance like that, now about to be noticed, is played off, no matter what is the spot whence it proceeds.—On the 12th instant there appeared in *all* the ministerial newspapers the following account of the toast of the new Mayor of London, MR. SHAW (late Sheriff of Middlesex, and one of the two who returned Mainwaring junior, instead of returning Sir Francis Burdett), and the answer of Mr. Pitt. The toast was thus given: "I give you the health of that man, to whom the eyes of Europe are directed, as to the barrier between them and slavery: WILLIAM PITT!" Whereupon, we are told, that long and loud applause ensued; and, that having, at last, subsided, MR. PITT arose, and expressed himself as follows: "My Lord Mayor, I beg to return your lordship my sincere thanks for the great, but unmerited, honour you have done me. The security of Europe will be owing to very different causes. England has saved itself by its firmness: I trust it will save Europe by its example."—At Mr. Shaw's toast one is not so much surprised; for, in him, who, I dare say, really thinks Mr. Pitt to be something even beyond a wizard, it is perfectly natural to suppose, that all the world looks upon him in the same light. But, that Mr. Pitt should, in a set speech, and in the most public manner, represent England as being *saved*; and, should, at such a moment as the present, talk of her *example* saving Europe, is something scarcely to be believed. *What example has she given to Europe? Is it to be looked for in the peace of Amiens? Is it to be looked for in the Parish army? Is it to be looked for in her debt and her paper-money? In her more than a million of paupers? In her endless tribe of tax-gatherers? Where, in short, are we to look for the example, by which England*

Guildhall, wanted only the presence of Boyd and Benfield to render it complete. The man who "*saved*" England by lending them (two members of parliament) forty thousand pounds of the public money without interest, would have been a toast most appropriate to the occasion—I marvel that nothing was said about *the statue*; and I cannot help thinking, that, were it not for certain misgivings of what might happen before it was finished, that the project would now be revived. If it be not, it is another proof, that, at bottom, much reliance is not placed on the permanence of the effect produced in the public mind by the late naval victories. Be assured, that the jobbers and contractors are afraid that it would not exist long enough for the purpose; or you would soon hear of meetings and committees at the London Tavern and at Lloyd's.—There appears to be, between the Lord Mayor and Mr. Pitt, something more than that mutual feeling common to every fund-dealer and every Chancellor of the Exchequer. They are very much alike, not only in the *kind* of their attachment to the country and the throne; but, in their persons, their manners, their dispositions and tempers, in the size and turn of their minds, and even in their talents. The Lord Mayor is a very *plausible, talking* . . . . . gentleman; and so is Mr. Pitt. The Mayor does not talk quite so glibly as the Minister; but, he does it very decently; and, only about half a year's practice at the bar would completely wear off the brogue, and would, even as a speech-maker, put him nearly, if not quite, upon a level with his friend; for, as to the *matter* of their speeches, there exists a perfect equality already. I have heard the speeches of both of them; their sentiments I have duly attended to; and, I do most sincerely believe, that, so nearly are they upon a footing in point of political and judicial wisdom and integrity, that, it would be a matter of indifference, as to the interests of the nation, if the Minister were to become Mayor, and the Mayor were to become Minister, to-morrow.—After all, however, I cannot refrain from expressing my decided disapprobation of the toast of Mr. Shaw, who will, I think, have leisure to learn, that the affairs of Europe will be settled without any of the participation of Mr. Pitt. I think, he will find, one of these days, that the name of Pitt will not be able to prevent the enemy from doing almost what he pleases; and, I shall be rather surprised, if the continent of Europe should not be disposed to *accuse* Mr. Pitt of having been the cause of the present war.—Mr. Pitt! he! the barrier between Europe





and slavery! And, this, observe, trumpeted forth through all the London newspapers, at the very moment that the armies of France were chasing the Austrians and Russians before them upon the road to Vienna, in a war, into which these allies had been precipitated by this very Mr. Pitt!—The Pitt news-papers tell us, that their hero was *drawn* by the populace in Cheapside. So was Lauriston, down St. James's Street, to the Admiralty, and, in spite of the King's guards, along the royal road in the Mall; and, what is worthy of remark, the hired cattle of Lauriston were *not hired* for the purpose.—There is one more occurrence at the Lord Mayor's feast, which must be noticed, as an excellent specimen of the disgusting manner, in which the citizens pay their court to the person that has the expending of the public money. The account is taken from the *Courier* of the 12th instant.—“After dinner on Saturday at Guildhall, whilst the Citizens led their wives round to view the Nobility, &c. as usual, a Lady in the *family way*, earnestly expressed a wish to shake hands with Mr. Pitt. Her husband *hinting his wife's desire* to the minister, Mr. Pitt very good humouredly held out his hand, which the Lady shook with much seeming pleasure. She even appeared anxious to salute him, when the Judges could not forbear laughing very heartily, and quizzed the Minister some time upon his supposed want of gallantry.—It would be curious to know, and we shall be able to ascertain it with tolerable precision, what, while this scene was exhibiting at Guildhall, *Napoleon was about!* Not, I will engage for him, holding out his hand to be squeezed by a citizen's wife “in the family way.”—It would puzzle one to know what could be the object of this paragraph, which has been inserted in all the ministerial papers, at an expense of, probably, not less than ten guineas. As to the woman, though the longing took her “after dinner,” be assured, that she was neither drunk nor a fool. She was, I would stake my life upon it, either the wife, the sister, the mother, or the daughter, of some contractor, or government jobber of some kind or other. Kind husband! tender soul! to *hint his wife's desire* to the minister; to join their hands as it were! He was no fool neither. He knew what he was about. Salute him! Aye, that she might, if the minister would let her, till she were tired.—This is certainly the grossest instance of flattery that was ever heard of. The wise men who conduct the ministerial papers represent this

woman's desire as proceeding from an enthusiastic admiration of the minister, and from an opinion, that, “by touching him, during her state of pregnancy, she should probably cause her child to resemble him, either in point of *talents* or of *good fortune*,” and, this desire being entertained, they say, “by our fair countrywomen, is a striking proof of the high estimation, in which the minister is held.” Base flatterers! Talk no more of the “sycophants of Napoleon and of the Empress Josephine,” Mr. Peltier! Talk no more of them; but employ your pen upon these gross, these fulsome, these filthy parasites of a man, in whom they see nothing but the power of bestowing on them, in some shape or other, a share of the public money. These are the reptiles for you to lash, Mr. Peltier; or, at least, if these pass uncensured, pray let the flatterers of Napoleon escape.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—To have detained the reader, for one moment, upon a subject like the preceding one, while another, so awfully important as the present, was waiting for discussion, does certainly appear to demand an apology; but, upon consideration, it will be found, that the exultations of the citizens of London, and their praises of Mr. Pitt as the saviour of Europe, form no unsuitable introduction to the observations which present themselves upon the subject of the continental war.—One of the greatest evils that this kingdom experiences at present, is, the delusion that is propagated by the press, with a view of carrying the people along, from calamity to calamity, in a state of mind that prevents them from perceiving the full extent of their dangers; that prevents them from inquiring into the cause of those dangers, and, of course, from endeavouring to remove that cause. Before we enter, therefore, upon a further consideration of the events and circumstances of the continental war, and of what is likely to be the nature of its termination, it will be useful to employ a minute or two in exposing the fresh instances of political turpitude in the conduct of the ministerial journalists.—The reader will not have forgotten (if he has, I beg him to refer to it, as quoted in p. 701) the article, in which the *Courier* asserted, that General MACK had been, in the House of Commons, extolled by Colonel Craufurd. “He had,” says that paper, “gained the confidence of Colonel Craufurd, who, in our House of Commons, was perpetually quoting and ex-tolling him, founding all his lessons on tactics on the great authority of General Mack. Amongst other things, he



"concurred with Mack in maintaining, that 60,000 men were sufficient to beat any army, however numerous; that, beyond 60,000 men, additional numbers were weakness, not strength."—At the time when I commented upon the article, of which this passage made a part, I had not had time to examine all the debates, in which Colonel Craufurd took part. Since that, I have had time, not only for such examination, but for other inquiries; and, I am now enabled to state, in the most positive manner, and upon the best possible authority; that, with respect to the military doctrine ascribed to Colonel Craufurd by the Courier, it is, to say the least of it, a most gross misrepresentation; and, so far from its being true, as asserted by the Courier, that he quoted General Mack as an authority for such an absurdity, or for any other opinion; so far from its being true, that he was perpetually quoting and extolling General Mack, the fact is, that Colonel Craufurd, never in his life, mentioned, or, in the most distant manner alluded to General Mack, either in the House of Commons, or in any other public situation.—In the same print of the 20th instant, after a long and most outrageous attack upon the opinions expressed in the last number of the Register, there follows the passage now about to be quoted:—"Surely, Lord Grenville will not send to foreign courts, as he formerly has done, the last perfidious numbers of that work: Surely Lord Spencer will not, as he formerly has done, circulate them amongst the navy."—It is truly observed, that persons given to a certain vice should have "good memories;" an observation amply verified in this case; for, from the date of the Register, it will appear, that the work was not in existence, till nearly a year after Lord Grenville had quitted the office connected with our foreign relations, and Lord Spencer that connected with the navy.—It certainly is not quite conclusive, that, when men have recourse to such means of supporting their cause, the cause itself must be infamous; but, there really appears to be only this alternative: that, either the cause must be infamous, or that quality must belong to the disposition of the persons, who, by such means, endeavour to support it. This has, however, been their constant practice. Always, when close hemmed up by their adversaries; when detected, caught, and exhibited to public shame, they have endeavoured to lie their way out. And, this is the description of persons, with whom Count Stahrenberg, the Austrian

Minister at our court, has thought it worth his while to correspond, in order to correct some of their hair-brained statements relative to the causes, which led to the late unfortunate events in Suabia! See his note to the Editor of the Morning Post, in another part of this sheet, and, when you have read it, cease to wonder at any thing you shall ever hereafter hear of with respect to Austrian condescension. Since that note was written, the Editor of the Morning Post (particularly on the 15th instant) has been more abusive than ever towards the Austrians. He has, upon one occasion, gone so far as to call General Mack an "infamous wretch;" and has spared no one of the Austrian Generals. Was this a proper person for Count Stahrenberg to correspond with? Was it, or is it, just to call General Mack an infamous wretch, merely because we knew that he had been defeated, and had made a convention, whereby he made a great surrender to the enemy? Was his Royal Highness the Duke of York reproached, in this way, on account of his convention at the Helder? The Editor of the Morning Post knew better than to deal in any such reproaches upon that occasion. He was then much too just to use appellations such as he now uses with regard to General Mack. Nay, if I do remember me well, the news-papers and the speakers in parliament, though they all deeply lamented that the convention at the Helder had taken place, were most cordially unanimous in declaring, that no blame whatever attached to the gallant Prince who had been unfortunately reduced to the necessity of acceding to it. Accordingly, we are now told, in this very Morning Post, with every symptom of pleasure, that the English army, now going out, is to be commanded by the same Royal Personage; and, indeed, do we hear a single man in the country remonstrate against this appointment, though, as we all well know, and as the Morning Post has just said (on the 19th instant), "this is a country, where, thank God! we still dare to think, and to write what we think?" Notwithstanding this blessed state of freedom, we do not, I repeat it, hear a single man in the country remonstrate against putting our army under the command, putting our military reputation under the guardianship, of the General who made, on our part, the convention of the Helder. Do I find fault with this appointment? Do I remonstrate against it? I were an ass, indeed, to do any such thing, though at such perfect liberty to think, and to write what

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*I think.* The point aimed at, then, is this, that, while we, who are free to say what we please about the appointment of the Duke of York, say nothing, no not a word, against it, it is a mark of great injustice and baseness in us to condemn unheard, to slander, to revile, to abuse so foully, a general whose only crime, as far as we can possibly know, is, that of having surrendered to a greatly superior force. The truth is, that the writers who have called General Mack an "infamous wretch," have never regarded General Mack, or his army, in any other light than that of people employed to fight for the safety of England; or, rather, for the safety of the places, the pensions, and the emoluments of almost infinite variety, which these writers, and the persons connected with them, enjoy. Viewing the Austrian armies in this light, they have naturally contracted the notion, that they have a right to criticise their conduct, and, whenever they think proper, to abuse them as they would hirelings of any kind. But, this is not the light, in which the nation and in which the government must view the Austrian armies; and, it were to be wished, if not expected, that the ministry would lose no time, in remonstrating with these their literary friends, and in putting a stop to that abuse of every one who experiences any defeat when engaged against the French; for, is it not impossible, that this abuse, in whatever extent it may circulate, should not tend to alienate from us our friends upon the Continent? Can any one imagine, that, if it ever reached his eye, the Emperor of Austria could have been much pleased with the following remark, in the *COURIER* of the 30th ultimo? "He" [General Mack] "is, no doubt, a plausible, talking fellow without brains, and has imposed upon those who know no more than himself. General Mack is the wretched instrument, which some unskilful hands have used. There is an old story, which he brings to mind. King James of England shewing Waller, the poet, some pictures, among others that of Queen Elizabeth, Waller observed that she was a wise princess." Aye," said King James, "she had wise councillors." "Please your Majesty, replied Waller, did you ever know a fool have wise councillors?" They will, should this *COURIER* have reached Vienna, have scarcely been so dull as not to make the application intended; and, we may be assured, that they will not overlook the circumstance, that the *COURIER* is what is called a ministerial paper. The effect of such publications is too evident to be pointed out; and, I do trust, that some means

or other will be taken to prevent the consequences naturally to be apprehended from this source.—In viewing the circumstances of the war, the most interesting object certainly is, the *conduct of Prussia*. Will she join the allies in the war against France; or, will she remain neutral? This question, if we believe the ministerial newspapers, is already settled; or, rather, it *was* settled, some weeks ago. Great: oh, how great, are the mischiefs that arise from public delusion! And, in the whole world, was there ever a people so deluded as the English! This is the ground of the dislike which I have always entertained to the art of printing. It is called the *enlightener* of the world. So it would be, if nothing but *truth* came from the press; or even, if truth had as much interest with the press as falsehood has. But, the contrary being the case, the press tends to make a people ignorant instead of wise. Men, if left to themselves, would judge from what they *saw* and *felt*; but now, they judge from nothing but hearsay: they purchase an opinion at the first newspaper shop; and, he who has the means of influencing the greatest number of newspapers, will, as long as those means do not fail him, have the greatest number of people to think as he wishes them to think. A people, once abandoned to the press, exists in a state of perpetual delusion, especially when high means are resorted to for influencing the press. The writers, thus influenced, never consider whether what they say be true or false; but, whether it will answer the purpose they have in view. As to the *future*; as to the consequences with respect to their character, their literary fame, or their reputation as politicians, all these they set at nought; they know, besides, that they are, as to the world in general, completely hidden; and, that, as to any evil effect which their falsehoods may produce, with regard to their future statements, they know, that one falsehood may be supported by another for a length of time that sets detection at defiance. In the meanwhile, their readers become their *partizans*, and prefer a defence of their falsehood to an acknowledgment of their own errors; and, thus, by the means of the press, influenced by selfish motives and great pecuniary resources, a nation is made to live along, from lie to lie, for years together. But, a maxim indispensably necessary to be observed in this system of deception, is, always to fall in with the *wishes* of the people; to humour all the feelings from which those wishes proceed; and never, on any account, to anticipate unpleasant events. A system of action more



destructive in its natural tendency cannot be imagined: it is an infallible nostrum for the undoing of a nation; and, as to the manner of administering it, we have a most striking specimen in the progress of the delusion, relative to the *warlike intentions of Prussia*. I shall exhibit this specimen somewhat at large, in the hope, that the exposure may tend to induce some few, at least, of the deluded people to think for themselves hereafter; and not build their hopes upon the statements of those, whose object, whose trade, it is to deceive them.—It was towards the latter end of October, when fears began to be entertained for the Austrian army in Suabia, that Prussian hostility to France was first played off upon the public. I beg leave to refer the reader to p. 672 for a statement of the opinions then first broached upon the subject, as also for the reasons, which I submitted to my readers, as the foundation of my belief, that much reliance ought not to be placed upon any immediate co-operation of Prussia. The intelligence from Suabia being of a nature to require great efforts in order to “*keep up the spirits of the people*,” and Prussia being the only quarter, to which the ministerial writers could look for the means of keeping them up, their assertions respecting the warlike disposition of that power daily increased in boldness, till, as we shall presently see, they actually made her cabinet sign a treaty offensive and defensive, and even brought her armies into the field, driving them on towards Suabia by forced marches! But, it is the progress of the delusion, to which I am particularly desirous of directing the attention of the reader; and, if he yields to my desire; if he does but bestow a trifling portion of attention upon this progress, I think, I may promise myself, that he will never hereafter be in danger of being deluded by the prints of the Treasury.—The Morning Post, the Oracle, the Sun, and several other prints joined in the deception; but, I shall quote only from my friend, the COURIER; for there it certainly is that we find the pre-eminence in falsehood as well as absurdity.—On the 30th of October, thus it began its new series of efforts for keeping up the spirits of the people. “It is well known” [When they begin thus, be sure that a falsehood is coming], “that Prussia has gone too far in giving countenance to the allies not to have incurred the hatred of Buonaparté, who at his convenience will take vengeance. The order of the Prussian minister in London for Prussian ships to avoid the ports of the enemy is conclusive as to the hostile inten-

tion of Prussia.”—On the 2d instant, the tone grew still more positive. “The expedition” [of the English, Russians, and Swedes] “is undertaken with the entire concurrence and approbation of the cabinet of Berlin, which, we trust, will further augment, with a strong division of the Prussian army, the Russians, Swedes, and the force sent from this country. Whilst the allies are endeavouring to make an impression upon Holland, the remainder of the Prussian army will, we should hope, be dispatched to the south of Germany.” This was a pretty bold effort to keep up the spirits. Here is a positive assertion, that the hostile movements of the enemies of France had been made with the entire concurrence and approbation of the cabinet of Berlin! That this was a falsehood we now know; but, observe, the delusion answered its purpose; it blinded the people for a day or two, till another falsehood could be hatched; it “kept up their spirits,” or, which is rather better, checked their inclination to complain, for the space of 48 hours. Then, on the 4th instant, something still stronger was served up. “The Prussian army is on its march, and, it is reported at Hamburgh, that the Prussians and Russians are to effect a junction in Hanover. The Electors of Saxony and Hesse are to join Prussia with all their forces. Government we understand, are confident of the co-operation of Prussia, but every thing almost depends upon that co-operation being immediate.” We shall have occasion to recur to the opinion, here expressed, by-and-by; at present we must proceed with a rapidity equal to that of the progress of Prussian hostility.—On the 8th instant: “Cautiously as this Note” [the Note of Count Hardenberg, of the 14th of October] “is, in some respects, worded; it shews that all hopes of an amicable adjustment of the differences between Prussia and France are at an end. Indeed the former has placed that point beyond the possibility of a doubt, by having entered into a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Austria and Sweden, to which it is supposed Denmark will accede. Government is understood to have received a copy of that treaty yesterday. The Prussian armies are already on their march.”—Having thus got the Prussian armies actually upon their route, the next thing, in due course, was to point out their destination, which was thus done, on the 12th instant. “The Prussian armies are assembling in Lower Saxony and Franconia. Some regiments in the latter country have abandoned the territory of

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"Anspach, and taken a concentrated position from Bareuth to Egra, on the confines of Bohemia.—The Prussian army, assembling in Westphalia, is daily approaching nearer to the borders of Holland. The head-quarters are expected to be immediately established in the city of Munster, within three days march of the Province of Guelderland."—On the 14th instant, the intelligence relative to the offensive and defensive treaty was thus confirmed:—"An English, Russian, and Prussian Messenger arrived late last night, together with four Hamburg Mails. They have brought intelligence of great importance.—Prussia and Russia have concluded a Treaty of Offensive and Defensive Alliance, and it was signed at Berlin by the respective Monarchs immediately after the arrival of the Emperor Alexander. Upon this grateful intelligence we most heartily congratulate our readers." On the 15th instant, the falsehood having been carried on pretty nearly as far as it would go, it appears to have received the finishing touch, heightened by a new and most impudent falsehood relative to the expressions of the Emperor of Austria. "The movements of the Austrian, Russian, and French armies, are subordinate in importance to the movements of the Prussian Cabinet. It is to Berlin that our attention is directed with more anxiety than to Vienna. The Vienna Court Gazette derives consolatory hopes from the magnanimous resolutions of the Sovereigns of Russia and Prussia. The Emperor of Germany's proclamation alludes to the measures necessary to be adopted to keep off the enemy from the Austrian frontier, till those numerous and powerful auxiliaries can act, which my exalted Ally, the Emperor of Russia, and other Powers, WHO HAVE FORMERLY AND RECENTLY EXPERIENCED THE INSULTS OF FRANCE, have desired to combat."—Prussia is here evidently alluded to.—Besides, we stated yesterday, that a Treaty of Offensive and Defensive Alliance had been concluded between Russia and Prussia." Only observe, they refer to their falsehood of "yesterday," in confirmation of the truth of their statement of today! But, what I wish the reader to notice here, is, the words which he will see in CAPITALS, and which words were not in the Emperor of Austria's Proclamation, as will be perceived by a reference to the preceding sheet of the Register, where a correct translation of that document will be found!

What, I ask the reader; what must be the character and the views of men, who could resort to such means of deceiving the public! And, what, after such an exposure, must be the persons who place confidence in such writers! Truly, a public, that thus suffers itself to be cajoled along from delusion to delusion, deserves no pity.—The delusion having been pushed to the utmost verge of public credulity, and there remaining no further circumstances whence to draw the means of supporting it, the next thing to be considered, was, how to let the public down again, with as little shock as possible; and, as the fact of Count HAU-  
GWITZ's pacific mission could not be disguised, there was no time to be lost. The following is the manner, in which the task was performed, in the COURIER of the 18th instant; and, I venture to pit the article against any thing of the kind that ever appeared in this or in any other country.—Observe, before you begin the perusal, that, on the 15th the Prussian armies were actually "on their march," in consequence of an alliance offensive and defensive, between Russia and Prussia.—"Foreign intelligence of the highest and most favourable importance, from Berlin and Vienna, has been received. It was easy to see, by Buonaparte's last bulletins, that he began to feel himself in an awkward predicament." [Who would not expect to hear, in the sequel, that he had been checked at least? But, this is their way]. "He has advanced so far without having produced the effect which he had expected; he has forced the Austrians to capitulate at Ulm, without having heartened the Austrian Cabinet; he has passed the Inn and the Isar, and so far from having struck terror into the Austrian Government, has given additional spirit and determination to its Councils and its measures. Twice before, he had compelled the Austrian Government under the impression of alarm to subscribe to terms of peace; he expected to produce the same effect a third time. He has completely failed. He sees that Austria is neither terrified by her disasters, nor trembles at his approach; he sees the Emperor neither daunted nor dismayed, though he has advanced so near his capital; he sees the subjects of his Imperial Majesty assuming fresh energy, and pressing round their beloved Sovereign in a more close and compact phalanx; he sees that the capture of Vienna will not shake the Imperial Council, nor force it to subscribe to any base or dishonourable



"terms!" Upon reading this, it is impossible not to call to mind the visions of the distracted TILBURINA; and, there is, alas! but too much reason to fear, that Napoleon, like the old Governor, will be found, in this instance at least, to be "a matter-of-fact man;" that he will have imbibed no portion of this poetical second-sight; and, that, in short, he will, 'ere now, have seen very nearly, if not quite, the contrary, of what is here portrayed. But, to proceed: "He feels, that he may perhaps get to Vienna, but that his safe return from thence is not so certain?" We boldly assert, that "Bonaparte is at this moment in a situation of more peril than the Emperor of Germany." That is a bold assertion indeed! Does not the reader admire the consolation which this writer draws from the difficulty which Napoleon will experience in getting safe back from Vienna? I do; but, I cannot say that I envy any one the mind into which such consolation could enter. My wish is, that Napoleon may not get to Vienna; for, if he should, I see little room for hope of further exertions on the part of Austria; though I am by no means disposed to join the COURIER, in representing the Austrian Cabinet as having "no more sense than General Mack;" that is to say, no more sense than "a talking fellow without brains." This is not my opinion of the Austrian Cabinet: my opinion of that Cabinet is very different indeed: but, I am fully convinced, that the capture of Vienna would be thought *no joke*! I am fearfully impressed with the consequences of that capture; and I sincerely regret, that it is not in the power even of the COURIER to keep up my spirits under that impression.—"Why does the Emperor assume this bold and determined tone? Why does he evince this determination not to yield, but make the most vigorous resistance? Why have his disasters not dispirited nor dismayed him? Why? Because he sees that the Continent will not, as she did in the two last wars, desert him; that it is determined to stand by him; he sees that Prussia will put forth her whole energies in his defence. This is the time, this is the crisis in which, we prophesied some time ago, Prussia would interfere. Had she joined Austria at first, the decisive advantage of her assistance would not have been so clearly ascertained; but now, now that Austria has met with such reverses, her interference will prove that she alone has turned the scale against Buonaparte, that she alone has saved Austria."—Curious argument! But, putting aside, for a moment,

the *prophesy* of these writers, where does the Emperor of Austria "see" the proof of Prussia's being resolved to "put forth her whole energies in his defence?" And, where are we to look for the fulfilment of the "prophesy," that "now, now, that Austria has met with such reverses," Prussia "will prove that she alone has turned the scale against Buonaparte?" Where are we to look for the proof of her disposition to do this? Do we see her armies coming on? Who would not imagine, that there were fast approaching towards the position of Napoleon any of those hundreds of thousands of Prussian soldiers, of whose forced marches the Courier sometime ago informed us? No such thing! it is COUNT HAUGWITZ, with a chaise and four! And, what is he the bearer of? His sovereign's gauntlet? Is he hastening to Napoleon's head quarters with the treaty offensive and defensive? No: but with "propositions for . . . . a general peace!"—Let us, however, proceed with our extract: "The Hamburg mail which arrived this morning, has brought intelligence of Count Haugwitz having set out for Buonaparte's head quarters with propositions for a general peace.—In the mean time" [Now for the consolation] "her armies are assembling, and taking positions calculated to act with immediate effect. These proposals cannot but embarrass Buonaparte, and hence those petulant articles in the Paris papers about Prussia. If Buonaparte accede to the proposals, his importance will have received the severest blow, for it will be seen that he yields through fear. If he does not accede to them, the Prussian armies will interpose instantly between him and his frontier, and he will find it almost impossible to extricate himself from ruin. It is not true, as was reported on Saturday, that Prussia has actually declared war; that would at least have been at present injudicious; she first offers terms, and assumes the position of an armed mediator, and if Count Haugwitz be unsuccessful, he will immediately upon his return through Anspach, order the Prussian troops to advance. Of this our readers may be assured, that Prussia is heartily and cordially with the allies." Oh, yes; you told us to be assured of that long ago, witness the treaty offensive and defensive! What assurance a man must have to expect to be believed, when the very assertion that he offers to you contains a flat contradiction of his former statements! But, such is the whole race to which this writer belongs. But, observe, that it is here asserted, that it

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would have been, *at present*, INJUDICIOUS for Prussia to have declared war against France. Now, then; compare this with the opinion expressed in the same print of the 4th instant, only 14 days before. "Government, we understand, are confident of the co-operation of Prussia, but *everything almost depends upon that co-operation being immediate*. Swift once said to the Treasurer, from whom he was to receive a sum of money, for which he had a pressing occasion, "I pray you, my good Lord Treasurer, *be quick*." "We may make use of the same words to Prussia."—And yet, this very writer, now that he finds Prussia negotiating instead of fighting, finds a consolation therein; and even declares, that an immediate co-operation would have been *injudicious*! Need I, is it, can it be, necessary for me, any further to expose the political profligacy of these writers?—One more passage, however, we must take. It is quite of a dramatic cast; and, observe, it is to be read very slowly, and in a low, deep-toned, awful voice: "At midnight on the 5th of November, the anniversary of that day which lives in the remembrance of every Englishman, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, swore on the tomb of the great Frederick, in the church at Potsdam, that they would remain faithful to each other, and to the cause in which they were engaged. Young and noble-minded, and high spirited Monarchs, may the spirit and wisdom of that Monarch, over whose tomb your vows were exchanged, animate your councils and invigorate your arms in so just a cause!"—A true Pittite; pious to the last! Only think: at midnight; and on the 5th of November too! Over the tomb of the Great Frederick; and *that tomb in a church too*! And is it, reader, upon romances like this that we are to build our hopes of the speedy deliverance of Europe? Is this the sort of intelligence, which we are, in the language of the concluding sentence of the COURIER, to "view as in the highest degree favourable?" From this is it that we are to derive the most confident expectations that the tide which has run so rapidly in favour of Buonaparté, will turn as strongly against him, and that Europe will be speedily rescued from the greatest peril in which she was ever involved? Is it, indeed, possible that any portion of the people; nay, that any single man of us, can be deluded by such despicable, such idiot-like means?—In coming, now, to speak, which we may do very briefly, of what, in

fact, is the line of conduct which Prussia will probably follow in the present crisis, I cannot refrain from once more recurring to the COURIER. We have heard him, many days ago, declare that Prussia had entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with Russia against France; we have heard him assert, that the Prussian armies were actually on their march towards Franconia; we have heard him almost swear that the fact of Prussia having joined the allies was placed "beyond the possibility of a doubt;" and now, on the 20th instant we hear him reviling me for throwing out certain opinions, likely, as he thinks, to influence the conduct of the continental powers; and, says he, "at what time are these wicked opinions thrown out? At the moment when it is feared Austria may be forced to make peace" [though he had before asserted, that *no one could fear it*], "and when Prussia is, perhaps, *doubting* whether she shall enter into the war!"—Here, however, I do agree with him; for, I think, it is very evident, that Prussia is *doubting*; and very strongly doubting too, whether she shall take part in the war, or not. Much will, in all likelihood, depend upon the situation, in which Count Haugwitz shall find the Emperor Napoleon. If the latter should have received a check; or should have met with any material obstacle; then, indeed, the Prussian negotiator may venture to propose such terms as would be likely to lead to a war. But, if Count Haugwitz should overtake Napoleon at Vienna; or find him treating with Austria; does the reader believe that Prussia would, whatever might be the conduct of Napoleon, take up arms? The situation of the Austrian monarchy is truly perilous! We hear much *talk* of recruits and reinforcements; but, we hear not of any *effect* that they produce; and, as to the "skill and prudence" displayed by the allies in *retreating*, I must confess I derive no more consolation from them than I do from the prospect of seeing Vienna defended, in the last resort, by regiments of shop-keeper volunteers. There is, too, the paper-money! Dreadful symptom! It may, possibly, be less depreciated than it is, in the French bulletins and in the Bavarian narrative, stated to be; but, that it is depreciated in some degree there can be little doubt; and, I leave the reader to imagine the consequences of such a depreciation, at a moment when the enemy has invaded the country, and when even the Austrian troops are paid in paper. That Prussia should join in the war, *after Austria has made peace*, no



one, who does not desire to see the universal monarchy of France established, can, I should think, be mad enough to wish.— But, should the pacific overtures of Count Haugwitz succeed; should a peace be the consequence of them; the next question for us to ask, is, will *England be included* in that peace? If the Emperor Napoleon be in danger of losing his crown, when he negotiates, she may; but it is unreasonable to suppose, that any thing short of that would induce him to listen, for one moment, to such a proposition. Not so, however, think the Pittites, who, in the *MORNING POST* of the 20th instant, reason thus upon the subject: "It is doubted by some, whether a peace with England is likely to be included in the general plan of pacification, said to be proposed by Count Haugwitz. Bonaparte is said to have declared, that he would make no peace in which England was included. But the peace Count Haugwitz had to propose, was not conformed in any respect to what Bonaparte declared he would or would not do. Bonaparte wished to make a separate peace with Austria, and afterwards to deal singly with the Russians, about whom he may then shew the same indifference he formerly did, when there was no point of contact between him and them. He certainly did not wish for the interposition of Prussia, in the manner that power has now come forward: for there can be no doubt that the propositions made by Duroc to the Court of Berlin, were very different from the terms now insisted upon by Count Haugwitz, at the head-quarters of the French army. Thus, if the United Powers chuse, under the mediation of Prussia, to insist on a peace, including England, Bonaparte must accede to that condition, as well as any other, or have to encounter the force of Prussia, in addition to the forces of the united empires, and their allies. We mention this, not that we court peace as a favour from the United Powers of the Continent, or that we could accept it as a concession from Bonaparte."—Oh, dear, no! No! no! We know you too well to suspect any such thing of you! You court peace! The Pittites court peace as a favour! The Pittites afraid! I would not for a trifle, however, have had such a cold sweat upon me as this writer had, when the idea of being once more left single-handed in the war came across his mind. The Pittites

have certainly caught at this shadow of peace; for, in another print, the *COURIER* of the same date (only coming out in the evening instead of the morning) there appears a sort of side-wind paving-of-the-way for a reconciliation with the Emperor Napoleon. They, with evident design, labour very assiduously to throw the blame of the war upon the new Opposition; and they state explicitly, that it was that Opposition which "alarmed, and plunged and drove the country into the present war." The reader may be assured, that this was not said without intention; and, he need not be at all surprised, if he hear these writers begin again to compliment the Emperor Napoleon and his Empress; and to cry out against me as an advocate for eternal ill-will. I beg the public to be prepared for this change. But, I am very far indeed from supposing, that any meanness of this sort will at all tend to procure us a voice in the making of a general peace, unless in the case above-described; or, unless we are willing to make our maritime and colonial dominion a subject of discussion. Without one of these, we must either return to the peace of Amiens, or to a single-handed war, of which, as the *MORNING POST* observed, "no one would be able to calculate the duration." And, observe, that, if we should now return to this war, there will exist not even hope on the side of the Continent. Our powerful, and now implacable enemy, will sit himself down before our country as before a fortified place. Neither months nor years will weary him. The Continent will not dare to stir for ten years to come. The preparations, that we have hitherto seen, for invasion, are mere child's play, compared to what we shall see. Then, indeed, will there be danger; and, it is for the purpose of preparing men's minds to meet, and to bear up against, that danger, that observations like these are made, and that they will, by every man of sense, be considered as likely to be useful. This is the true way of keeping up the spirits of the people; for, it is thus that those spirits are to be supported, when the day of trial comes. It is easy to cheer, to drown the fears of, a cowardly crew, as long as you can hide the danger from their sight; but the men, by whom the country must be defended, if defended at all, need no delusion: they ask to know the truth: they ask to be shewn the danger in its full extent, that they may prepare to meet it.